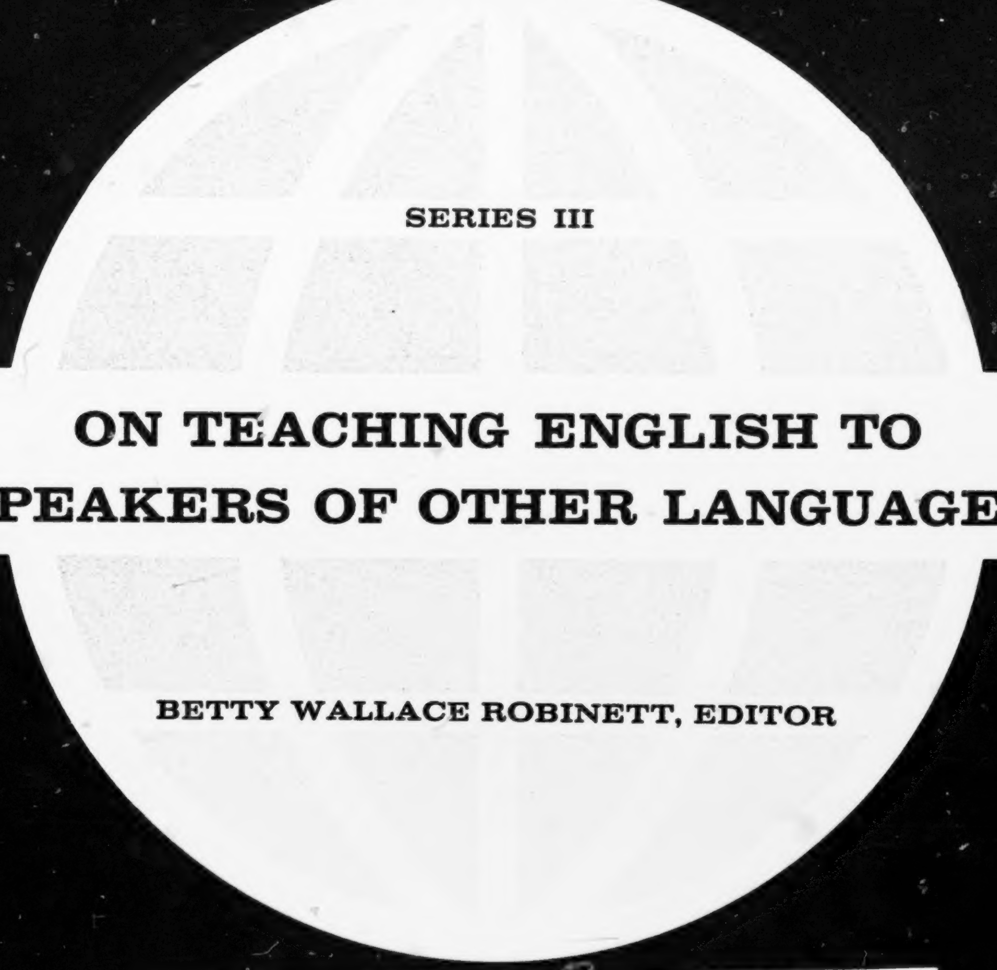
DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 032 525 AL 002 064

By-Robinett, Betty Wallace, Ed.
On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. Series 3.
Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages.
Pub Date 67
Note-186p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$9.40
Descriptors-*English (Second Language), *Instructional Materials, *Language Instruction, Language Programs, *Teacher Education, *Teaching Methods

The contents of this series (a compilation of papers read at the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Conference, New York City, March 17-19, 1966) are grouped according to general subject and authors--(1) TESOL as a Professional Field, by S. Ohannessian, A.H. Marckwardt, G. Capelle, D. Glicksberg; (2) Reports on Special Programs, by C.H. Prator, P.W. Bell, L.H. Salisbury, J.B. King, M. Finocchiaro, G.S. Nutley; (3) Some Key Concepts and Current Concerns, by R.B. Long, J.D. Bowen, S.C. Lin, N. Greis, C.C. Fries, E.M. Anthony, R.N. Campbell, E. Ott, B. Reifel, C. Senior; (4) Materials, Their Preparation and Use, by W.N. Francis, R.J. DiPietro, A. MacLeish, C.B. Paulston; (5) What to Do in the Classroom, Devices and Techniques, by C.J. Kreidler, R. Brande, R.J. Schwartz; and (6) The TESOL Conference at New York, by G.L. Anderson. [This document previously announced as ED 012 460.] (AMM)

ED0 32525



SERIES III

ON TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

BETTY WALLACE ROBINETT, EDITOR

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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ON TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

Series III

Papers Read at the TESOL Conference
New York City
March 17-19, 1966

Betty Wallace Robinett
Editor

Editorial Board
Virginia French Allen
Robert B. Kaplan
George H. Owen

TEACHERS OF ENGLISH TO
SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

Washington, D.C. 20007

AL 002 064

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Institute of Language and Linguistics
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C. 20007

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Preface

The papers printed in this collection were presented at the third national conference on the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), held in New York City on March 17–19, 1966. The full conference program is printed in the concluding section of the volume.

The New York conference was unique in that it represented the culmination of three years of joint sponsorship of the TESOL meetings by five cooperating national associations and agencies; and represented the beginning of an independent organization destined to bring together permanently those school and college teachers interested in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages.

The papers included in the volume represent a selection from the many interesting presentations at the New York conference. The very richness of the conference precluded publication of all documents, and those included were sometimes shortened in an effort to make space for more. The Steering Committee appreciated the willingness of Betty Wallace Robinett, Ball State University, to edit the collection. Assisting Professor Robinett in making the final selections were Virginia French Allen, Robert B. Kaplan, and George H. Owen.

The Steering Committee is especially grateful for the contributions of George H. Anderson as program chairman and William S. Work as chairman of arrangements for the New York conference. Throughout the three years of its existence, the TESOL conference has enjoyed unlimited support from its parent groups—The Center for Applied Linguistics, The Modern Language Association of America, The National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, The National Council of Teachers of English, and The Speech Association of America. The joint steering committee created by these groups is pleased to extend congratulations to the officers of the new association and best wishes for the continued success of the TESOL conference.

JAMES R. SQUIRE
FOR THE STEERING COMMITTEE

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PREPARATION FOR TESOL: NEEDS AND UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS

Sirarpi Ohannessian

It has become a cliché to say that all the resources of all the English-speaking countries could not meet the present demand for English in the world. Here in the United States, the last few years have witnessed a growing realization of the problems of non-English speakers of all ages, both native born and immigrant, trying to function in an English-speaking literate society. Abroad, whether in the multi-lingual situations of developing countries or in countries where English is learned as an additional language of wider communication, the demand for it seems inexhaustible.

The United States, with its wide involvements overseas and its large elements of speakers of other languages, has deep commitments and interests in this field. These are reflected in the programs that are carried out under the auspices of our government agencies, foundations, professional and religious organizations, the federal Office of Education, state and city systems of education, industry, and our universities, to which tens of thousands of students from all over the world come every year to continue their education through the medium of English. The programs vary in kind, size, duration, and the situation in which they are carried out. They call for a very wide range of qualities and preparation in the personnel who are responsible for their various aspects. American programs, of course, represent a small fraction of the world picture in this field, since English as a foreign language is taught in national programs by many people for whom it is an acquired language.

The kinds of preparation that are needed are reflected in the work done by various categories of personnel in this field. A very important category is that of the policy maker and administrator, among whose duties TESOL sometimes occupies a relatively small place, but who is concerned with the making of long-range plans, channeling funds, and other matters which demand not only sophistication in linguistics and pedagogy, but also sensitivity to sociolinguistic, political, and administrative factors. Some of these specalists serve as consultants to international bodies such as UNESCO, to the U. S. Government, foundations, or commercial companies. Many serve on advisory committees, an outstanding example of which is the National Advisory Council on the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, whose task is to bring the experience and resources of universities into closer relationship with the total national effort in this field. Others are found at administrative posts in government agencies, foundations, universities, and state and city systems of education. Overseas such specialists would be needed in ministries of education—especially in the inspectorate, in schools, and in universities. Where English is the language of wider communication, it becomes extremely important for all administrators to concern themselves with its effective teaching.

Another important category of service, that of teacher preparation, will be taken up more fully later. The third and most important category is that of the teacher himself, whose services range from university to kindergarten work, and who teaches, under every possible kind of condition, such diverse groups as policemen in Cameroun, doctors in New York, university students in Sweden, laborers in Arizona, air force pilots at Lackland, and elementary and secondary school children the world over.

It is evident that no single program can provide preparation for all these categories of service. What, then, are the types of training available? Pre-service and in-service training, as well as post-service or refresher courses, are available in a large number of programs in the United States, varying in length from a few days to five years or more at a university. Examples of the shorter non-degree programs are: The International Teacher Development Program, administered by the Office of Education; the National Defense Education Act Summer Institutes for teachers of English in elementary and secondary schools; the Peace Corps Volunteer training programs for service overseas; seminars run under the auspices of the Department of State; and programs sponsored by the United States Information Agency and the Agency for International Development. Both at home and abroad there are workshops, practicums, and orientation programs conducted by a great variety of private and public institutions.

The university program in America, however, is the core and prototype of almost all teacher training programs in TESOL and, chiefly through the contribution of linguists, has had great impact on the teaching of English all over the world. It is often the universities that supply personnel to conduct the shorter programs, which are often modeled on those in universities. University programs, therefore, are more likely to reveal the main characteristics of teacher training in this field, although the shorter programs are developing some particular characteristics of their own. A recent survey of programs in eleven American universities, conducted by the Center for Applied Linguistics, and covering the academic year 1964–65, shows that approximately 810 students were enrolled in degree programs with emphasis on TESOL. Of these about 460 were non-native speakers of English who came from 41 different countries. All eleven institutions had a program leading to the master's degree in this field. Eight had doctoral programs and three had undergraduate programs. A few had certificate and diploma programs as well.

In eight of the universities the linguistics (or language and linguistics) department was responsible for the TESOL program. In the other four the programs were administered by the department of English, foreign languages, or the school of education.

The majority of students enrolled, approximately 500 out of 810, were candidates for the master's degree. Of the remainder, about 80 were enrolled in undergraduate programs and 130 in Ph.D. programs, 95 in certificate, and 18 in professional diploma programs. All but one of the survey schools indicated that they required evidence of English proficiency for foreign students, and all indicated that facilities were available for further training in English language. Practice teaching was offered in only three survey schools, at one of which it was optional. Six of the institutions surveyed indicated research completed or in progress in applied linguistics, two in sociolinguistics, four in language learning and psycholinguistics, six in pedagogical experience, and seven in materials preparation.

To give you some idea of the proportion of emphasis in course work, I would like to present a rough picture of the required courses for the M.A./M.S. degree which is the most widely taken. There are, of course, numerous electives that can be taken beside these.

The information given below is based on ten of the schools surveyed. It is not very precise, since related courses had to be grouped together under general headings and there may be some overlap between the divisions, especially between courses in English and linguistics, and perhaps methodology. There were also problems of alternates in courses and areas of specialization offered in various departments in some schools, thus adding to the number of courses indicated.

Nevertheless, an analysis of the courses offered showed that all ten institutions required courses in linguistics covering a wide variety of aspects of the field. The sum of all the courses in linguistics in all ten institutions was about two and a half times that of any other area covered.

Nine institutions required courses in the methodology of teaching English as a foreign or second language. These, including some attention to the preparation of materials, constituted less than half the number of those on linguistics. Six institutions required courses on the English language, five on literature, and two on education, including education at various levels, such as elementary and secondary. The sum of courses in each of these areas amounted to about one third of the number on linguistics.

There were courses on language-culture-area studies in each of three institutions, and two institutions required courses in each of the following: the language laboratory, psychology, language teaching, literacy, and language of the area chosen. Single institutions had courses on anthropology and bilingualism, and courses on the language and culture of contemporary America (for foreign students) or of the student's chosen area (for American students). One institution required courses in supervised teaching and analysis of classroom behavior.

This is a simplified picture of the situation, and time will not allow me to go more deeply into the survey. It will, however, be published very shortly.[1] Perhaps at this point I should try to make a few comments on how the training programs, partially described above, are meeting the needs outlined.

Linguistics, in comparison with other areas, seems to be the most adequately covered in the present programs. The proportionately less time devoted to the structure of English may need some rethinking, unless there is a great deal of English included in the linguistics courses. The comparatively slight emphasis on other aspects of language teaching, however, seems to be more serious.

The teaching of language has been said to consist of the selection of the material to be taught, the sequencing or grading of the forms and meanings selected, their presentation in the form of instructional material, and the techniques used in the process of making the student internalize the material presented to him.

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[1] Sirarpi Ohannessian and Lois McArdle, *A Survey of Twelve University Programs for the Preparation of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966).

Before the selection of material can take place, it will be necessary to have a description of the language. It has long been assumed that for pedagogical purposes the target language should be compared and contrasted with the mother tongue to reveal the extent of differences and the types of interference that may be expected. The next task is that of grading the material for presentation. Thorough training in linguistics is necessary for both these tasks, but the second needs a great deal more, since it involves decisions on what to teach first and what next. It seems to me, therefore, necessary to give the trainee not only competence in linguistics but an understanding of the psychological, pedagogical, and perhaps cultural and sociological factors that may enter into the making of instructional materials suitable to the age, level, aims, and needs of the learner. Since all these tasks require specialized training, program planners should perhaps take into consideration the degree of competence necessary for each of these tasks and should provide the requisite emphasis during the general training period.

We were not able to get adequate information on course content to determine what was included in all the methodology courses. It is possible that many of them cover theories of language learning, as well as techniques of classroom presentation, the use of teaching aids, and so on. Areas that appear to need attention, and which may be covered in these courses, are the teaching of reading and writing, administrative problems such as those involving time, space, teachers, the place of English in the curriculum, problems of teaching non-English speakers in the same classes with non-standard speakers of English, adjustment of children from different cultural and educational systems, and many more which would need far more time than can be devoted to them in a single course.

Other areas that might receive some attention, especially in view of our international involvements, are comparative education as it relates to the teaching of English, problems of teaching English in multilingual situations or in varying educational and examination systems, and the use of English as a medium of instruction for other subjects. Attention could be given to such subjects as the role of language in the development of nations, varieties of standard and regional English, problems of mutual comprehension among those that speak these varieties, problems of standardization, and teaching the mother tongue as well as the language of wider communication.

We have already seen that interest in this field, long concentrated on the foreign student at the university level, is now shifting to include elementary and secondary children both here and overseas. Although three of the institutions surveyed had undergraduate programs, there was no indication, except in the case of one, that there was particular attention given to the teaching of English at the elementary and secondary levels. Perhaps, in view of this shift of interest, a re-examination of the organization of programs is necessary. It is for teaching at these levels particularly that the practical side of language teaching needs most attention. Observation of competently taught lessons and sustained, guided, supervised teaching are necessary, at least in pre-service training. Some universities, no doubt, find it difficult to provide practice facilities for their students. Even in areas where there are great problems of non-English-speaking children it is not always easy to arrange practice teaching, and I know of no model school where such teaching and long-term experimentation and research can take place.

Research is another area of activity that could have more time devoted to it. To name a few areas, research is needed not only on such complex matters as how language learning takes place, both for the first and subsequent languages, but on practical questions such as the effectiveness of various techniques, substantiation of some of the assumptions that have been taken for granted for a long time, and cultural and sociological problems as they relate to the teaching of English and perhaps linguistic research. Although much has been said on the role of contrastive analysis, the amount of such analysis between English and languages that have substantial numbers of speakers learning English is not very great. More research on the pedagogical applications of such analysis is also needed.

Before concluding, may I point out one area that has been sadly neglected by the universities—the teaching of English to the non-academic adult. Thousands of non-English-speaking adults, both immigrants and native-born Americans, are being taught English in our great metropolitan and rural areas with inadequate materials and by untrained teachers. At least a few universities could undertake to specialize in the training of people for this field.

May I sum up by saying that the great expansion of interest in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages, both at home and abroad, has brought about expanded needs which necessitate a re-examination of the patterns of teacher training in our universities, whose programs, as prototypes of other kinds of training, will then influence the whole pattern of teacher preparation in this field.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN EASTERN EUROPE

Albert H. Marckwardt

To most Americans, the European satellite countries present an intriguing aspect. Many of us are likely to have ties of blood and nationality with some of them, which makes it all the more difficult for us to understand why they are in orbit around the Red Star. We hear vague rumors of visitors and tourists being followed, of planted microphones, of tapped wires, although it would seem that on the latter score, we have little to fear in a situation where making even an ordinary telephone calls is virtually a career. And as far as the so-called shadows are concerned, I was about to ask the somewhat dispirited character assigned to me in one city to help with one of the two heavy suitcases I had in hand, but I thought better of it. All told, we tend to look somewhat naïvely upon these states as we would upon wayward young females, sorry that they have strayed from the paths of rectitude, not quite able to understand why, and yet curious as to how they were seduced.

Still this prurient curiosity will not take us far along the road to an understanding of the educational systems of these countries or of the place of English in them. We must recognize that in each of them, education is a complex of a general European tradition, some specific national traits, and certain theories and practices which reflect the present political and social situation. Any tendency to overlook even one of these components is bound to result in a skewed concept, and that is what we have usually been getting even in the assessments of education in Russia itself.

This account will deal with the place of English in the total educational system of four satellite countries, and of course even the label *satellite* must be applied with caution, for it has not the same meaning in every instance. At any rate, the countries are Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Poland, visited in the course of the summer of 1965. I was in each of them just long enough to enable me to speak with the assurance of ignorance and the intrepidity of John Gunther. Certain generalizations will be applicable to all four and possibly to Hungary and Bulgaria as well; other conclusions will inevitably be particular in their application.

All the countries that I visited were in the process of increasing the amount and range of compulsory schooling, certainly a laudable impulse and clearly dictated by the social needs they are facing. Usually this takes the form of adding one more year, required of all children, to the elementary school. Sometimes, though not always, the period of secondary schooling is reduced by one year, but at all events, it tends to delay the introduction of certain secondary school subjects, including the foreign languages other than Russian, which with one notable exception enjoys the status of a required elementary-school course.

Two other factors work to the detriment of foreign-language study at the present time. In response to the demands of the modern technological world, there is heavy stress upon mathematics and science. And in response to the current ideology, there is pretty generally a work component calculated to protect society against the encroachment of a flabby and uncalloused intelligentsia. The result has been that the universities can no longer take for granted a reasonable competence in the language skills on the part of those who graduate from the secondary schools, and as in our own country, university language departments are forced to spend a great deal of time teaching intermediate, if not elementary, language to their majors. In short, all foreign languages, not merely English, have been the victims of a squeeze over the past several years.

On the other hand, and here the similarity to the United States ceases to exist, the interest in and motivation for foreign-language study is generally high. The reason is plain enough. No one of these countries speaks a language which, by any stretch of the imagination, could be called a world language, and under circumstances such as these, the advantage of a command of English, French, German, or Russian is clearly evident. Of the four tongues that I have mentioned, English is undoubtedly the one which most students would elect if given their choice, yet it is by no means the one with the largest enrollments. Only in Slovenia, just one of the six federated republics of Yugoslavia, is the number of students taking English clearly greater than those in the other modern foreign languages, and only in Croatia does English equal Russian and German in this regard. Actually the figures here are of sufficient significance to merit quotation. According to data released by the Secretariat of Education and Culture in Zagreb, during the academic year 1963–64, 31.8 percent of the student enrollment was in English, 31.4 percent in German, and 31.3 percent in Russian. But only as recently as 1960, 59.5 percent were studying German. This is a shift of no mean proportion. English has profited most by it and Russian slightly. French was a poor fourth five years ago and remains so today.

This is a clear case of a gain in the position of English, but what I must point out as well is that there are instances when we indulge in wishful thinking at the expense of fact. In Poland, for example, I was given to understand by all of the Americans and British concerned with cultural activities that English was at an all time high in popularity, with some 80 percent of all students electing it, that French was a poor second, engaging possibly 15 percent of the students, with the remaining 5 percent opting for German. From the very outset this sounded not only dubious but absolutely incredible. Even granting the possibility of mammoth classes and inhuman teaching loads, there seemed not to be enough English teachers either in the profession or in training to lend credence to these figures.

When official statistics for 1963–64 were finally secured, it turned out that of 369,639 students in the general secondary education program, an even 26 percent were studying English, as compared with 26.4 percent for Latin (which no one had mentioned, by the way), 28.4 percent for German, and 19.2 percent for French. In passing, the surprising strength of both Latin and German is to be noted, the former clearly reflecting the still strong force of European educational tradition; the latter can be accounted for by the cold hard facts of teacher supply. But let us not lose sight of the main point, namely not to confuse the desire to learn English with the facilities for offering it as a school subject. "English is the most popular language," a statement one hears on all sides, is too dangerously ambiguous to be accepted without factual verification.

To conclude, in this area of the world, English tends to be the third modern foreign language in the secondary schools in terms of the number of students. In adult classes, often given as part of the co-called People's Universities, its position is markedly stronger. There is every evidence that the governments concerned are anxious that the practical knowledge of English be increased, as an aid to technology if for no other reason, and I am confident that under normal circumstances the relative position of English *vis à vis* the other language is bound to improve.

The crucial question, of course, is how English is being taught; here generalization becomes exceedingly difficult. Certainly there is emphasis upon the audio-lingual side of the language. Concentration upon the ability to read has not crowded out every other consideration as it did in the schools of the United States during the ghastly period between 1920 and 1950. Even so, the time devoted to developing an oral mastery is not always well spent, and part of this has to do with the relative acceptability of the British and American varieties of the language. British English clearly has the greater prestige despite all that Randolph Quirk and I have tried to do to lay the ghost. Our radio series entitled *A Common Language,* devoted to this issue, seems to have entertained many but persuaded few. At any rate, too much time is spent in drilling classes to reproduce the fine nuances of individual phones, and not enough time in discriminating phonemes or in intonation drill. There is also a tendency, about the third or fourth year of language instruction, to regard the oral side as something that is over and done with, and from that time on to deal only with the written language. This is particularly true in those countries where English is introduced as a second foreign language in the later years of the elementary school. Partly because of differences in training, and partly because of a sense of heightened professional dignity, the secondary school teachers tend to stress reading and composition at the expense of speaking and listening because they feel that the oral approach is the business of the elementary school.

The Eastern Europeans are quite as intrigued by gadgets as we are, and as a consequence they have an unbounded faith in the language laboratory but little experience in its operation. In terms of their thinking about the laboratory as a teaching aid, they are just about where we were in 1955. The few laboratories that are in use are of the purely receptive type: the student listens to a model, but there is no opportunity for making or recording a response and comparing it with the model. Little thought has been given to the distinction between using a laboratory for purposes of reinforcement as against that of extension of the linguistic experiences of the student. Nor did I encounter any evidence of a really serious effort to adapt the existing textbooks to laboratory use. There is equally little recognition on the part of persons in supervisory positions that laboratories present problems in upkeep and maintenance. An intelligent use of language laboratories could help to solve many instructional problems in these countries, and some of them are clearly looking to us for help. What we need to do in response is to put greater stress upon intellectual sophistication than upon electronic complexity, a distinction which we do not always observe.

It is sad but nevertheless true that language teaching is often no better than the textbooks which are employed, and for this reason the books which are in use in these countries deserve a careful examination. Before they are considered in terms of content and presentation, certain other pertinent matters merit attention. As might well be expected, wherever education is largely under the control of a central ministry, textbook approval is a matter for federal rather than local determination. In the eastern European countries the list of such approved texts is generally short; choices are few. In theory at least the competition or opportunity for ministry approval is open, but I encountered a great deal of vagueness about the procedures for submission of manuscripts and the mechanism for evaluating them. Very often the official syllabus is so rigid and detailed that very little freedom is left to the writer in any event. As in this country, books are customarily published in series designed to serve several consecutive years of instruction; individual volumes within the series may be the work of different authors.

Because of a paper shortage in certain of the countries and an understandable desire on the part of educational authorities to keep the price down, the books are comparatively short. Explanations are often condensed; exercise and drill material tends to be scanty. Thus, if they are to be used successfully for repetitive practice to a point where student responses will become automatic, the teacher must inevitably add and improvise liberally. The chances of this actually taking place in the classroom are reasonably slim.

There is a wide range in the quality and accuracy of the information they contain and in the manner of presentation. Some of the series make no use whatever of colored illustrations; others employ them effectively. The same is true with respect to the diagrammatical representation of structure. Some books make excellent use of various devices for class assignments: answers to newspaper advertisements, letters, puzzle-solving.

Many of the textbooks begin with what is in effect a short course in phonetics, often addressed to the teacher and on occasion to the student. For the most part, teachers pay little attention to this introductory material and students even less. Although the extensive attention to phonetics suggests an emphasis upon oral command of he language, yet it is not really integrated into a consistent philosophy of language instruction. There is no attention to a phonemic principle, nor is there any indication that anyone has engaged in a systematic analysis of the native and target languages in order to identify points of learning difficulty.

Evidence of vocabulary control is apparent in some of the books, at least to the extent of an attempt to operate in the initial stages with a limited lexicon, to be gradually expanded in the later volume. There is no indication of a planned re-entry or repetition of vocabulary items as we find it in the best of our foreign-language textbooks today.

Infelicities in idiom and structure appear to arise from three or four different sources. The tense forms of our verbs give a good deal of trouble, as may be seen from sentences like, "Next year I am an engineer," and "Once a rich American goes to Paris," an independent statement, not an anticipatory clause. We also find, "Do you like a bicycle," where *want* was clearly what the context demanded. "Does learning take a long time every day?" results from lexical confusion.

Other lapses originate in a lack of feeling for tone or style. A small English-speaking boy does not address his playmates either male or female as "My dear," nor would he write, "We are gay as we have good marks." "Let it not speak," may be paradigmatically possible, but it is scarcely normal communication any more than, "You, sir, who came from that road, come to this side of that sign and tell me what you see."

In addition to this *la plume de ma tante* feature, many of the books are laden with Briticisms which sound quite foreign to an American ear. In one series of texts the verb *to mend* is used in connection with a bicycle, an automobile, a pram, a lawnmower, and a roof. "I need that pencil, please," with the response, "Here you are, then," is as unbelievable a bit of dialogue for this sector of the English-speaking world as it would be for the American male to go to a hairdresser's or to apply *for* the university. In this instance I am not complaining of inaccuracy but rather of the failure to employ expressions which might be equally acceptable on both sides of the Atlantic. The whole matter of amphi-Atlantic English needs more careful study than it has received, and teaching materials designed to serve these countries would afford an excellent opportunity to attempt to achieve it.

In the past, reports dealing with the teaching of English in Russia have been critical of the use of reading selections for propaganda purposes. The same charge could be levelled at certain of the textbooks I examined, especially in Czechoslovakia and Rumania, but I believe it is more to the point to go beyond a blanket condemnation and to distinguish various types of propaganda use.

To begin with, there may merely be a somewhat exaggerated praise of life in the homeland, a kind of boosterism which we fall into ourselves sometimes but which inevitably tends to sound hollow when someone else does it. The Rumanian series contains an account of a visit to a front-ranker in a factory, who has a comfortable apartment. The moral, in a land characterized by housing shortages, is obvious even though not stated. At times the tone becomes somewhat more fulsome, as in this narrative of a visit to a power dam under construction, which concludes with the comment, "These are the same wonderful workers we meet at construction sites at Bicaz, at Paronice, at Borzesti. They are young and strong and cheerful. Under the wise leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party they build big and powerful stations to help our heavy industry and our agriculture for the welfare of our dear country, The Rumanian Peoples' Republic."

A second type of reading selection contrasts the excitement and fullness of life at home with the drabness of existence and the social injustice prevalent in the United States and England. A textbook from Czechoslovakia employs the device of an exchange of letters between a girl in Prague and some pen pals in Scotland and England. "Your winter holidays in the mountains were certainly beautiful," comments the girl from Aberdeen to her Czech friend. "Well, in our country we have not any such holidays. The snow does not stay long, and there is not much of it and so only rich people can afford skiing here, or rather abroad." From further correspondence we learn that the Watsons, an English couple, finally have a new flat "after five years of waiting." Workers from the east end of London rarely get to the west end to look at the shop windows. Later on, the girl from Aberdeen who took such a dim view of Scottish winters exclaims to her Czech correspondent, "I can imagine how happy you feel about your holiday trip to the Soviet Union," and she goes on to say that she listens to the news in English from Radio Prague regularly.

Finally, there are the materials which are genuinely English and American, both literary and documentary. Of course, certain American and English authors are popular in this part of the world, because they seem to possess broad social sympathies or because they are in violent protest against injustice. Among the Americans, Jack London, Mark Twain, and Hemingway are heavy favorites. Shelley's poems of social protest and certain of the novels of Dickens also have been heavily drawn on. One textbook quotes in full the letter Theodore Dreiser wrote in applying for membership in the Communist party. Essays and newspaper features written by Americans on the slums of Washington, D. C., on the discrimination and the attendant riots are all grist to the mill; although they may all be factually correct, they are rarely balanced by anything favorable to our way of life. Occasionally the treatment is even more patently dishonest as in the case of Langston Hughes' short story, "One Friday Morning," the account of a Negro girl who was unjustly refused a school prize because of her color. This very poignantly told story appeared in the textbooks of every country that I visited, and in every country save one, the text had been so excised that the concluding note of hope was omitted.

It is noteworthy that as one proceeds to more advanced levels, the tone seems to become more strident, culminating in the following suggestion for an introductory lecture on Shakespeare contained in a textbook on teaching method, which runs as follows: "Shakespeare fought against both feudalism and the evils of capitalism. He stresses the necessity of a strong and unified central state. He denounces the capitalist wrongs as the destructive influence of gold, racial prejudice, and the tyrannical authority of parents over children." We learn in conclusion that Shakespeare insists on the moral and intellectual equality of men and women and that he is guided by the principle of equality as to sex, color, nature, religion, and nationality.

As is true in many parts of the world, teaching conditions are less than ideal. The overcrowding of classes, though present to some extent, is less of a problem than teacher load. In Czechoslovakia class size compares very favorably with conditions in the best of our schools. But teaching schedules run from eighteen to twenty-one hours almost everywhere, and since many classes meet only twice a week, this makes for an enormous number of students for a teacher to handle. The mastery of English on the part of the teachers varies considerably; on the whole they compare favorably in this respect with foreign-language teachers in the United States, although they probably fall below the level of competence in English on the part of teachers in Holland and the Scandinavian countries.

Except for a few expatriates, most of the teachers are trained in the universities of their respective countries. Pedagogical schools do not figure heavily in teacher preparation since English is generally not an elementary school subject. It has already been suggested that despite a secondary-school English program which may run anywhere from four to seven years, the universities still find it necessary to continue training in a practical command of the language. Other than this, the course of study consists primarily of work in literature. Some linguistics is available, notably at the University of Zagreb, where there is a chair in English language as well as in English literature—true also of some of the Polish universities—but this is the exception rather than the rule. American literature receives less attention than most of us would consider its due except possibly in Poland, and that country has also assumed a role of leadership in building an interdisciplinary curriculum which reinforces the study of literature with a considerable amount of history. Work in pedagogy seldom takes up more than one or two courses in most of the countries; it may or may not include the opportunity to do practice teaching.

Although there is some excellent research in linguistics being carried forward, particularly in the research institutes of Czechoslovakia, staffed by highly competent scholars, the application of the research findings to the teaching of language, either native or foreign, has not advanced in a spectacular fashion. A few contrastive studies have been published, notably in Yugoslavia and in Poland, but the results are seldom apparent either in curriculum organization or in the textbooks. On the other hand, communication among language teachers in the various countries is on the increase, and it is not unrealistic to look for improvement here.

One serious hindrance to scholarly work is the great scarcity of bibliographical aids and research materials, especially the learned journals. I was told that there is neither a complete set of the journal *Language* nor of the journal *Word* in all of Yugoslavia, and the other countries I visited are not much better off. This arises chiefly from the difficulties of foreign exchange and, of course, the high price of books particularly in America. Many individual scholars have established avenues of book exchange with American acquaintances, but this meets the problem only in small part. What is needed is a bold and sweeping rather than a piecemeal attack on this front.

When all is said and done, however, the principal barrier to a wider dissemination of English in all four countries is the teacher shortage. I found it impossible to determine the extent to which this has been foreseen or is currently realized by the respective ministries of education. The present requirement in Poland, that every English major must spend three years teaching English in the secondary schools is one indication of an attempt to meet the need, but unless the number of English majors is drastically increased, even this will be insufficient to meet the demand. In every country the number of admissions to fields of major study is rigidly controlled by the ministries of education, and the increase in these admissions has by no means kept pace with the increase in secondary school students. In Rumania, where Russian is no longer compulsory as a first foreign language, there was little or no indication that anyone in official circles had projected the need for teachers of English over the next five or ten years. The only country without a shortage of English teachers at present appears to be Czechoslovakia, which has been able to depend upon a cadre of teachers going back to pre-Communist days, but this generation is now in its fifties and will be active for only a decade or so in the future. All told, it is a serious problem, and what is so surprising is that the careful planning, presumably so characteristic of the Communist economy, has not been extended to this matter of teacher supply. There may be depths of information here that I was not able to plumb, but on the surface surely, the plans and devices for coping with the English-teacher shortage all seemed ad-hoc and unimaginative, nor was anyone except in Croatia at all willing to consider the possibility of retraining teachers of other languages for work in English.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to conclude on a negative note. The desire and the demand for learning English are comforting in the highest degree. Every one of these countries devotes a greater span of time in its educational system to the learning of a foreign language than we do. Some impressive experiments are under way, such as the use of English as the language of instruction in other subjects, which I observed in Poland. Teachers are receiving in-service training comparable to what goes on in our NDEA institutes. Most of the universities are anxious to have representatives of the American academic community on their staffs. It would seem, therefore, that for the present our best strategy is to exploit a strong interest in American life and literature and in American linguistics and its application to classroom language teaching. We can undoubtedly gain the greatest respect for ourselves and for the quality of American scholarship by sending to these countries persons of the highest academic distinction, those with national and international reputations, who are at the same time highly effective teachers. The host countries know perfectly well who our best scholars are, and such persons will be listened to. This will cost us more, both in money and in effort, than providing the second or third echelon, but the impact will more than justify the outlay.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN FRANCE

Guy Capelle

The immediate conclusion one draws from the statistics published by the French Ministry of Education is that practically every French secondary school student in France is learning English. It is compulsory for every one to take at least one modern language no matter what his IQ or future goals may be. Modern languages are part and parcel of *une bonne culture générale,* which our secondary school education purports to inculcate in our students. This is by no means a recent conception based on the sudden awareness that it is important, under the pressure of certain circumstances, to know other peoples' languages. Our tradition dates back to March 26, 1829, when Charles X introduced the teaching of languages in the *lycées.* In 1840 it was made compulsory. In 1853 the standardized final examination for the *baccalauréat* included a test on the new subject. Ministerial directives to the teachers soon appeared: the first *instructions ministérielles pour l'enseignement des langues vivantes* were published in 1873.

This tradition of over a century has left its stamp on our present objectives and methods. The cherished concept of *culture générale,* which has certainly been one of the mainstays of French secondary education, fostered the principle that the teaching of languages, just like that of the subjects in the curriculum, is only a means to an end, and that results can best be evaluated in terms of knowledge of the foreign culture and literature. In recent years there has been a strong tendency to set up new, less culturally oriented, and therefore, for the Frenchman, less ambitious objectives more compatible with practical needs. This tendency is even reflected in the most recent *instructions générales,* the official guidelines imposed on all teachers. Here it is stated that "the teacher should aim at teaching pupils to speak, read and write elementary contemporary language and then to express, orally at first, facts and ideas of everyday life." In spite of its generality, this recommendation usefully draws the attention of the teacher to the "humble" but indispensable task of imparting the basic skills to the students in a neatly defined order. But, immediately following this, disconcerting emphasis is placed on "the importance *at all stages* of studying texts by good writers .... chosen for their literary, human or social value." From then on the directives maintain this ambiguity. The high standards imposed by a humanistic conception of culture prove detrimental both to the acquisition of the basic skills and the benefit to be gained by reading. Failure in both areas is the usual outcome, accompanied by frustration for teachers and students alike. Appearances are preserved, however, and satisfactory or even good results—which are by no means infrequent in spite of the constraints of the system—are often adduced in favour of our approach. When we look at the total situation, the grievous fact is that we are not getting large enough returns for our investments in trained staff, time, energy, and money, and that our system cannot adapt itself readily enough to changing needs and new objectives. But I have come to realize that this situation is not typically French!

As I mentioned at the beginning, the teaching of English enjoys an outstandingly privileged position in our schools. Eight pupils out of ten begin to study English in their sixth grade (the first form in our secondary schools) at the age of eleven or twelve. The majority of others will start two years later in their eighth grade so that approximately 85 percent of the total student population takes English for either five or seven years at the rate of three to five hours per week. This is much more than most other countries. In our State secondary schools alone, there were approximately 8500 teachers of English in 1963 against 4500 for all the other languages. It is significant to note that throughout the years, in spite of many reforms, the place of languages, and of English in particular, has never been seriously threatened. In all fairness, one might add that the recurring complaint about the low standard of achievement which is made about English could also be levelled at the teaching of Latin, history, or any other subject. Nobody, however, seems to care much about the practical results to be gained from a knowledge of English. Five hundred to eight hundred class hours, spread over a period of five to seven years, would hardly be sufficient to teach anybody a language under the best possible conditions (if such a thing as knowing a language can be defined!). No wonder this cannot be achieved with thirty to forty students in a class (sometimes more), insufficient equipment, a wide variety of teaching material of unequal quality, and with teachers instilled with a reverence for literature while receiving, in many cases, little professional preparation for the teaching of the contemporary language.

One of the most striking aspects of our system, which has important consequences in our field, is undoubtedly its high degree of centralization. English, and for that matter all the other subjects in the curriculum, is taught according to an official syllabus to which everybody must conform. The final examination at the end of their schooling, the *baccalauréat,* is the same for all students. Those who want to become teachers then go to the university where they receive, at different levels, a type of training which is, again, the same for all. Later they earn salaries varying with their qualifications and experience. The custodians of orthodoxy are a group of *Inspecteurs Généraux,* all of them former teachers, who visit classes and advise the teachers. It is they who decide on teachers' promotions and appointments. As a body they are responsible for the official directives to the teachers, but they have no time to do any research and they have no research center attached to their department. This shows to what extent our profession is considered to be an art which the senior members of the corporation should possess to a higher degree.

As a matter of fact, professional training consists mainly of learning the craft. The junior member is apprenticed to three different senior teachers during his year of practical training, theoretical training being reduced to a minimum. The belief persists that a sound knowledge of the language and its literature will carry you a long way: teachers are born, not made! Fortunately this conception, based on tradition and a respect for liberal education, is gradually changing. In recent years, one or two more progressive inspectors have become interested in the new developments in language teaching. The French Association has been campaigning—polemicizing would be more accurate—to promote new ideas, and the growing importance of applied linguistics in the universities has brought about a number of changes.

I feel I should describe the kind of training our teachers receive. At some time they have all been English majors in our universities. The first group is composed of those who teach in our *colleges d' enseignement général* (CEG). They must pass three certification examinations at the university level, two of which are in English. This approximates a B.A. in this country. So far they receive no special training in teaching methods. The first step in qualifying to teach in a *lycée* is the *licence* (five examination *certificats,* three or four of which are, obligatorily, in English). This requires a minimum of three and an average of four years, one of which is spent in an English-speaking country (usually Great Britain). The next step is to succeed in a national competitive examination called the CAPES *(Certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement secondaire)* which involves a minimum of two years' preparation after the *licence.* If the candidate is successful in the first written examination, he then has to undergo a full year of practical training, at the end of which he submits to a final examination. This shows that the machinery exists for the thorough and competent training of teachers, since six or even seven years are required after the *baccalauréat* and since training includes a year abroad and a year of practice teaching. But we have already pointed out some of the shortcomings of the system. Neither the first group of teachers, those who teach in the CEG, nor the third group I am going to describe, the *agrégés,* receives any consistent training in the theory and practice of teaching. Only a minority, those who have passed the CAPES, are given some formal professional training. Moreover, we know that the *lycée* cannot deal adequately with the teaching of the language.

Until recently, contemporary English was hardly studied *per se,* and the students were supposed to study its use and structure by spending a full year in Britain—a process which is not entirely unsatisfactory. This trend is beginning to change through the influence of linguistics. Courses are now offered in phonetics and the description of contemporary English. American English, which for a long time had hardly been tolerated, is beginning to be accepted and recognized as a legitimate variety of English. Up to now, however, repeated efforts by a growing section of the younger professors have not yet succeeded in changing the basic curriculum. The only written tests are in translation and literature. Fluency in the use of the language is effectively tested by these written and even oral examinations, but no special emphasis is placed on the contemporary language as such.

The third and last category of teachers is composed of the *agrégés.* The *agregation,* a government recruiting examination given once a year in Paris, was originally instituted to screen the top-ranking teachers. Although it is not a university degree, it is recognized in fact as a sufficient qualification for teaching at the university level. It is at least equivalent to the recently created *thèse de troisième cycle,* which is itself very similar to an American Ph.D. The examinations for this level reflect the same attitude: translations, *explications de texte,* oral expositions on literary topics, and two *dissertations* of seven hours' duration. Here again it is assumed that a man who can write a seven-hour essay on "The

Aesthetic Exploitation of Pathos in *Oliver Twist*" will certainly be bright enough to teach a class. I had to find out for myself that the knack of teaching rarely goes hand in hand with that of taking examinations. My three weeks' professional training had not developed in me a taste for teaching nor a real competence! I again deplore the fact that pedagogy, and of course applied linguistics and psycholinguistics, do not occupy a more prestigious place in teachers' training. This, of course, does not apply solely to the French situation!

You may be interested to know that basic salaries range from $200 to $700 a month, to which are added a few advantages shared by all workers and employees in France—free medical care, retirement plans, free education for the children. A teacher has to teach between fifteen and twenty hours a week, according to rank-scale.

To help the local French teachers, about one thousand English-speaking informants, the majority of them British, are offered temporary jobs as "assistants." Most of them are students working towards a degree in their own country, and this arrangement works both ways. In 1964, 1120 French students were sent to Britain alone. This exchange scheme, started long before the last war, is growing in importance every year. This time spent abroad is certainly, under the present circumstances, extremely profitable for future teachers.

It is embarrassing to pass judgment on the teaching materials used when one is responsible for a set of those materials. May I say then, that although some reasonably good courses can be found on the market, few of them are really adapted to the teaching of language as a means of oral communication. Even fewer make use of modern linguistic theory, description and contrastive analysis. The grammar presented in them is, in a traditional way, that of written English, and the grammatical explanations are given in French. Textbooks reflect the official method as expounded in the *instructions générales,* but they vary widely in their interpretation of the official text in the proportion of oral and written exercises, the type of grammar to be taught (if any at all), the relative importance of vocabulary, phonetics, the kinds of audio-visual aids, and, above all, the use of method and techniques. Translation is still commonly used to check comprehension, but it is also used as a teaching device even in the early stages. The majority of teachers are still hesitant about the use of pattern drills, which are felt to be too mechanical as opposed to their *méthode active* based on oral explanations and conversation in the classroom. Equipment is still scarce. There were only 116 language laboratories in State schools in 1964, and too few teachers are really prepared to take advantage of this approach. But tape-recorders are not uncommon and visual aids, in various forms—mostly film-strips and the flannelograph—seem to be more extensively used than in this country. It may well prove a blessing for the modern approach that language labs should not have sprung up all over the country before the teachers were ready to change their attitude and make effective use of them. I hope that when they are extensively used, no radical reassessment, with all the harmful consequences of a reversal of opinion, will be necessary.

The picture I have tried to draw is, of course, oversimplified, and I have deliberately omitted various aspects or developments such as our recent FLES program. It may also be overly pessimistic. So allow me to minimize this criticism of our ambitious objectives, poor student motivation, insufficient professional training of teachers, poor materials and equipment, and difficult teaching conditions by pointing out that practically every teacher in the world cites the same or similar shortcomings in his own system. The results obtained in France seem to compare favorably with those achieved in other parts of the world.

On the other hand, we have special reasons for hope. Various specialized centers have been extremely active recently in the fields of applied linguistics and language teaching. The names of Besançon, Credif, and the center I founded in 1959, BEL *Bureau d'Etude et de Liaison pour l'enseignement du français dans le monde* may already be familiar to some of you. Although those centers specialize in the teaching of French as a foreign language, a large amount of research and experimentation is being conducted at Besançon, by the École Normale Supèrieure de Saint-Cloud, and especially by BEL in the teaching of English to speakers of French. Those experiments were even extended to some countries in Africa where teaching is organized along French lines.

A few hundred teachers have already been informed and even trained in the new methodology during the workshops and courses organized for them by the centers mentioned. The movement is spreading slowly but surely, and the younger generation will be better prepared. After first trying to oppose the coming changes, the French educational authorities now encourage them, and this will no doubt accelerate the trend. Our national association of teachers (APLV) is actively working: meetings are organized and articles have appeared in their publication *Les Langues Modernes*. A national association for applied linguistics was created last year and already includes among its members the majority of the professors of linguistics in the universities. The curriculum for the *licence* will probably be altered within the next few years, and provision will be made for a linguistic approach to contemporary English. Already in some universities, Paris, Nancy and Besançon, more attention is being paid to the training of students in the fields of phonology, applied linguistics, and teaching methods. Several new journals have appeared in the last few years, and some publishing firms are attentive to this development.

All these are more than mere signs. The prospects of improvement are brighter than they have ever been since the beginning of this century when France was the first country to turn *en bloc* to phonetics and the *méthode directe.* I feel certain that we shall have novel and important developments to report in the near future.

ENGLISH TEACHING IN JAPAN*

Daniel Glicksberg

English teaching in Japan is reported to be the largest single foreign language movement in the world. Within the halls of Japanese junior and senior high schools and universities, there is a total of about 66,000 English teachers and roughly 13,000,000 students. If the myriad of private English classes sponsored by business firms, bi-national and cultural centers, missionary organizations, the YMCA, wives' clubs at the American military bases, etc., are added to these figures, an estimated 25,000 part-time teachers would join the 66,000 already mentioned and the total number of EFL students would probably be larger than the population of any state of the United States. In a nutshell, this is the problem with English teaching in Japan. The logistics necessary to up-grade the level of instruction are formidable, indeed.

Furthermore, although English is supposedly an elective in senior high schools, it is chosen by a reported ninety-nine percent of all students. But this is not usually done for the love of the language. Japanese students are like students anywhere. They are goal-directed toward the passing of university entrance examinations which are, in this case, largely dependent upon an English test. Consequently, what occurs in terms of the curriculum is *articulation downwards* from the university entrance exams; three years of high school English will be aimed solely at the university entrance test, and, in turn, three years of junior high school instruction will be largely directed at passing the senior high school exams. Since most university English entrance tests are of the rigid grammar-translation type (although the junior high school English classes seem to have been considerably modernized), from the time a Japanese student enters senior high school to the moment he graduates from the university, English instruction will be aimed at grammar-translation skills. English might just as well be as dead as classical Latin and Gothic. Add to this basic picture the fact that most Japanese English teachers, themselves, have a serious deficiency in oral-aural English and justifiably feel inadequate to teach English as a living, spoken language, and the picture seems gloomy, indeed.

But, like the yang-ying, or forces of darkness versus forces of light, principle,

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[*] Although this somewhat controversial interpretation of Japanese English teaching is entirely my responsibility, I would like to thank the following people and organizations for providing me with the up-to-date factual information incorporated into the talk:

1. Professor John A. Brownell of Claremont Graduate School, *Japan's Second Language, A Critical Study of the English Language Program in the Japanese Secondary Schools in the 1960's* (to be published by the National Council of Teachers of English, in press).

2. Mr. Iwao Nishimura, Executive Secretary, The United States Educational Commission in Japan.

3. Professor Akira Ota, The Tokyo University of Education, "The Teaching of English in Japan," *Information Bulletin,* Vol. IX (Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1962).

4. The Faculty of the Modern Language Institute, The Tokyo University of Education.

English teaching in Japan does have its positive side. In fact, that so much has been done to up-grade the standards of English teaching when there is so much in the academic environment to prevent change is truly a remarkable achievement. Although there are numerous individual teachers who are quite concerned with the improvement of their own classes, it is, I believe, largely organization efforts—especially in the area of teacher training and re-training—which seem to present the greatest promise and which should be roundly applauded. There are too many organizations to describe here, and so mention will be made of only the most prominent:

1. ***ELEC, The English Language Education Council***

This organization, established in 1956 through the financial aid of the Rockefeller Foundation and private Japanese sources concerned with the low level of English instruction, has been of incalculable aid in the up-grading process. It has brought prominent American linguists to Japan and has produced texts and accompanying audio-visual materials for the three years of junior high school English. Although not as widely used as some other books, these texts have certainly influenced the development and revision of many of the others. In addition, ELEC has a large-scale program of adult English classes at its Tokyo school where much of the teaching is of truly exceptional caliber. ELEC also has a very active summer seminar program which, since its inception, has involved several thousand Japanese English teachers.

2. ***ZEN-EI-REN, The National Federation of English-Teachers Organizations***

With more than 60,000 member junior and senior high school teachers, this organization carries on active seminar programs and can most easily influence change through its huge membership, which is reported to be eighty percent of all English teachers in the country.

3. ***The Language Laboratory Association***

Founded in 1961, this association is, of course, dedicated to audio-lingual methods. Fortunately, the Japanese people, like Americans, have great interest in things mechanical and electrical. As a result, language labs have been installed in most universities and in many secondary schools. Those without labs frequently have tape-recorders. However, it has been my observation that once installed, a language lab is all too often like a bright shiny ornament to be unwrapped, dusted, shown off, and carefully protected from use. But certainly this is not a criticism of Japan. I could easily say the same thing about many academic institutions in the U.S. Nevertheless, in Japan, where most students (and teachers!) have little contact with native speakers, language labs may eventually have inestimable value in making English into a living language. Here the Language Laboratory Association might have great potential—but only if it emphasizes materials development as well as technological improvement.

4. ***ICU, International Christian University***

At least an additional year of English instruction is required at most Japanese universities. However, English is something that is encountered only on the printed page in the classroom. English is never an oral language; it is definitely dead. Thus, the universities, including (or perhaps especially) the most famous universities, are the *real* centers of conservatism both in their entrance exams and in their classes.

ICU seems to be an exception to this rule, but I frankly do not know if this is because of the teaching or a result of the cosmopolitan nature of its campus which has many native speakers of English among the student body and staff. This undoubtedly produces something of an English-speaking environment in Japan, a situation which most Japanese schools cannot possibly hope to achieve.

5. *The Japanese Ministry of Education*

Often regarded as reactionary in terms of English-teaching requirements and its conservative, prescribed curriculum (undoubtedly frequently on a scapegoat basis to cover a do-nothing attitude on the part of teachers), the Ministry, too, sponsors seminars in which a large percentage of activities will be directed toward giving Japanese teachers practice in spoken English.

Furthermore, the Ministry helps to sponsor the following programs which are the polar opposite of reactionary:

6. *Modern Language Institute, Tokyo University of Education*

In an age of great proponents of all sorts of "methods" and ideas to improve foreign language teaching, there are few institutes designed solely to test out in controlled classroom experiments the linguistic-audio-lingual hypotheses which are now frequently taken as gospel. Sponsored jointly by the Ministry, UNESCO, and the university itself, the MLI is so dedicated. In spite of being terribly understaffed, it could well serve as a model for similar organizations in other countries, including the United States.

7. *The U.S. Education Commission in Japan (Fulbright)*

Now that we are in the era of the Great Society with Peace Corps, Anti-Poverty Programs, etc., frequently making headlines, we must be sure that the Fulbright program—which is at its best when it is *out* of the news—continues to receive an equitable share of U.S. Government appropriations. Certainly, the Commission in Japan can be considered one of the brightest stars in the Fulbright crown. Over the years, it has grown amazingly sophisticated in understanding the EFL needs of the country. Its most recent and perhaps most effective program in this field is to help up-grade the TEFL programs in six selected universities by bringing the Japanese faculty of these institutions to the United States over a period of years and to consistently send American TEFL specialists to the same schools in Japan. The six universities were chosen *not* because of their fame but because *their English majors consistently become English teachers.* Consequently, in spite of comparatively limited resources, the Fulbright Commission might eventually have tremendous beneficial impact on the profession.

In conclusion, we might say that there are a few bright strands in the gloomy weave of English teaching in Japan. Progress is certainly being made, but it is agonizingly slow. In some ways we might even say that the English-teaching profession as a whole (and especially the universities which train the leaders of the country) is subversive in that it is working *against* the needs of Japan. No country is more committed to international relations. English in the 1960's is the language of these international relations. That the profession continually turns out students so deficient in spoken English is definitely not serving the good of the nation.

Those of us on this side of the Pacific who have noted the tremendous English handicap of Japanese students in the United States have heard many rationalizations like, "Japanese are simply bad language learners," or, now that we are more knowledgeable and sophisticated, "The reason Japanese have so many problems is that the linguistic structure of their language is so different from English." However, the Japanese who come to this country to study usually have had seven or eight years of language instruction prior to their arrival. With so much time allotted to the study of English, linguistic differences *per se* cannot legitimately be used as an excuse. I suspect that the end product of the Japanese grammar-translation method of instruction not only *does not* create language habits but, because the time allotment for instruction by the translation method is so lavish, it creates something that actually *interferes* with the acquisition of a foreign language. Thus, that so many Japanese students in the United States have such tremendous difficulty with their studies here is *not* a shock. That a few Japanese students can succeed in English here is surprising, indeed.

II. Reports on Special Programs

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF KENYA

Clifford H. Prator

In February-March, 1965, I was privileged to spend five weeks in Kenya making a study of the current status of English-medium instruction in that country's elementary schools. The study was requested by the Kenyan Ministry of Education, financed by the Ford Foundation, and carried out jointly with Marnixius Hutasoit, a distinguished Indonesian educator with a great deal of experience in educational and economic planning. Because of the ever-increasing involvement of Americans in teaching English abroad and since many of the problems we found in Kenya are also present in one form or another in the very large number of countries where English is used as a medium of instruction, it seems appropriate at this important conference to try to share with you a few of the highlights of the study.

Paradoxically, the most important development in Kenyan primary education in recent years—the period of the struggle against British political control and the winning of independence—has been an explosive expansion in the use of the English language as the medium of instruction. In 1957 a Special Centre was set up in Nairobi, as a dependency of the Ministry of Education, to prepare the materials and teachers which would make it possible to experiment with the use of English as the instructional medium in Standard I (Grade I in American terms). The resulting program of study, embodied in *The Peak Course,* was first tried out in a few urban schools for Asians. For a variety of reasons, it was an immediate and resounding success: 1) it solved a multiplicity of practical and political problems inherent in the former system of giving instruction in several different Indian languages; 2) it brought with it an entirely new child-and-activity-centered concept of education; 3) it provided much more adequate texts and teaching materials than had ever before been available; and 4) it was carried out under almost ideal conditions of close supervision and continuous in-service training of teachers.

Such success led to demands, increasing in more than geometric proportions, that the new program be extended to higher standards and to a larger number of schools. By the end of 1963 it was estimated that eighty-nine percent of Asian primary education in Kenya was being begun under the new system.

Inevitably there arose formidable pressures to introduce English-medium instruction in the schools for Africans as well. An adaptation for Africans, *The New Peak Course,* was begun at the Special Centre in 1961 and completed by the end of 1964. Only one African Standard I class used the new materials in 1961. In 1962 there were 82, 226 in 1963, 650 in 1964, at which point more than ten percent of Kenya's primary schools had gone over from the former system of vernacular teaching to English-medium instruction.

In other words, it has become abundantly apparent that what began as a small experiment in English-medium instruction has now led to a major educational revolution which bids fair to involve all seven standards in all the primary schools of Kenya. Appropriately and wisely, the Ministry has recently decided to refer to the expanded program as the New Primary Approach (NPA) rather than as the English-Medium Scheme.

Not surprisingly, such a rapid and extensive change of orientation in language, philosophy, and methodology has brought with it a wide variety of increasingly urgent problems. Are the values which might derive from adequate instruction in the vernacular languages being sacrificed? Can English-medium instruction be reconciled with the legitimate interest in developing Swahili as a distinctively indigenous *lingua franca* throughout Kenya and East Africa? Can enough teachers with the necessary superior qualifications be found, immediately and in the foreseeable future, to staff the new NPA classes? How can these teachers be given the initial training and the continuous supervision which are essential if the demonstrated effectiveness of the NPA is not to be dissipated? How much and what types of foreign aid may be required? Are the physical conditions in rural primary schools such as to permit a type of instruction which must rely heavily on visual aids, special equipment, and group activities? Is the NPA being extended too fast? Can its extension be controlled? What requirements should be met before a school is allowed to go over to the NPA? In short, how can a plan developed to meet the needs of a small group of atypical urban schools for Asians be transformed so as to make it effectively applicable to the great rural mass of the country's system of primary education for Africans?

It was questions such as these that we were requested to attempt to answer in our study. Time will not permit me to cover them all. I shall therefore limit myself today to a brief consideration of questions of language policy as exemplified in the schools of Kenya. This decision was dictated by several convictions: 1) that most of us Americans have done an insufficient amount of thinking about problems of language policy; 2) that we will do a better job of teaching English overseas if we have a clearer idea of why it is worth doing; and 3) that we must be wise enough to avoid falling into the role of blind champions of more English at any price around the world.

One initial point should be made very clear in any consideration of the change-over to English as the instructional medium in Kenyan primary education. The shift to the NPA involves *two separate and distinct educational reforms of major significance, the one linguistic, the other methodological.* On the one hand, there is the change from a system in which the major vernacular of each locality was used as the initial medium of instruction, with English often not introduced as a separate subject until Standard IV and as the medium until two or three years later, to a system in which all instruction is given in English from the very outset of primary school. On the other hand, there is the change from a brand of education characterized by formal methods, dominance by the teacher, and paucity of instructional equipment and materials, to a brand which demands group work, pupil participation, and the availability of books and teaching materials in generous quantities. *It was largely by historical acci-*

dent that the two educational reforms coincided in Kenya. They could equally well have occurred separately or alone, as has actually been the case in many other parts of the world.

The astonishing popularity of English-medium instruction among pupils, parents, and educators can thus not be ascribed wholly to such inherent virtues as the English language may possess.

As you may know, Kenya is a country of many tongues, though its babelization is by no means so complete as a casual reading of the long list of languages and dialects spoken there might seem to indicate. Accurate information as to the number of speakers of each language appears impossible to come by; however, a reasonably good indication can be found in the figures of the newly released *Kenya Population Census, 1962,* where the population is broken down into racial and tribal groupings.

Of a total population of more than eight and a half million, some ninety-seven percent speak various sub-Saharan African languages as their mother tongue, and only three percent are speakers of other languages—principally English, Gujerati, Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi, and Arabic. Eight major African languages account for a reassuring eighty-two percent of the total population: Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba, Kalenjin, Kisii, Meru, and Mijikenda. No other African language is spoken—as mother tongue—by more than 200,000 people.

However, there remains the unique case of Swahili—very widely used as a *lingua franca*—which certainly must be considered as a major factor in the over-all linguistic picture. For Swahili, it is even more difficult to cite reliable figures than for the other languages of the country. If one is to believe the *Census,* it is the mother tongue of no more than 8,657 Kenyans, or one-tenth of one percent of the total population, concentrated in the coastal areas. But more must be said later about the place of Swahili in the social, political, and educational life of Kenya.

Unfortunately, the African languages of the country are divided into a number of different language families. If it is assumed that the large tribal groupings of the *Census* correspond to linguistic groupings, then some 62.5 percent of the African population speak Bantu languages, 16 percent speak Nilo-Hamitic, 13 percent Nilotic, and 4.5 percent Hamitic. In other words, whereas 62.5 percent would find it relatively easy to learn Swahili or Kikuyu, which are Bantu languages, the non-Bantu 37.5 percent would find it more difficult.

Thanks chiefly to the success of the NPA, the authorities responsible for determining language policy in the primary schools of Kenya today need concern themselves seriously with only three elements: English, Swahili, and the major vernaculars.

Viewed in relation to the present social and political goals of the country, the case for assigning to English the role of instructional medium appears very strong indeed.

Social goal: *The elimination of divisions based on race, tribe, religion, and economic status.* English is the greatest *lingua franca* the world has ever known; it is used by more people, of more different kinds, in more widely scattered places, for more different purposes than Latin ever was. It would be absurd at this late stage of the development of mankind to regard it as the property or instrument of the small island off the coast of Europe which had the honor of giving it birth.

Social goal: *National economic development and an improved standard of living for the individual Kenyan.* Economic development and higher living standards can be achieved only through access to science and technology. In today's world the language of science and technology is pre-eminently English. The speed of technological progress is increasing at an astounding rate; the chemists tell us that more chemical literature has been published in the last twenty years than in all previous history. With every year that passes, then, the possibility grows more remote that any appreciable portion of the publications on which material progress depends will ever be translated into more than two or three of the world's languages. English is still the key which opens the door to economic and social advancement for the average Kenyan.

Social goal: *The widest possible extension of access to education.* English is equally accessible to all groups of Kenyans. It is already widely spoken in the country and well established in the school system. Adequate materials for teaching it are available, and there are more teachers prepared to give instruction in English than in any other language. At present a shift to any other tongue, such as Swahili, as the teaching medium would disadvantage certain groups and probably set the development of education back by at least a decade.

Political goal: *The strengthening of national unity.* The political leaders of countries as diverse as the United States, the Philippines, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, and Uganda have seen and continue to see in English one of the most effective instruments for achieving national unity.

Political goal: *The development of democratic social and political institutions.* It is only a slight exaggeration to say that English is the language of democracy. Certainly, the English-speaking countries have taken the lead in the development of democratic institutions, and most of the great statements of democratic ideals were written in that language. However, in Kenya the national languages will be needed along with English in order to reach the masses of the people.

Political goal: *Pan-Africanism tempered by cooperation with both East and West.* Whereas Swahili, at best, permits communication within a limited area in East Africa, English is spoken by more Africans than any other tongue. When in Africa, even the Russians and Chinese usually find it necessary to communicate in English. A Kenyan traveling abroad can win few friends and influence few people through Swahili or Kikuyu. And yet, Swahili might play an important role in the unification of East Africa.

Swahili offers several advantages, not as a substitute for English but as a complement to it.

Chief among these is undoubtedly the great emotional appeal it has for many East Africans, particularly the politically minded. Swahili can be regarded as an African creation, something which really belongs to the people of this continent, a part of that African heritage for which a new generation of African intellectuals is anxiously searching. English may be tainted with an aura of colonialism and capitalism, but not so Swahili. The reality and depth of this emotional appeal should never be underestimated; for an increasing number of Africans it is powerful enough to sweep aside all logical and pragmatic considerations.

(One need hardly take seriously the accusation made by detractors that Swahili, on the other hand, is tainted with an aura of slave-trading and piracy because of the circumstances of its origin. There is little doubt that many more slave-traders and pirates have spoken English than Swahili!)

Swahili, or Kiswahili as it is called by those who speak it, is a major *lingua franca,* like English. It is spoken to some extent, in some form, by a varying number of people in the greater part of Tanzania, much of Kenya, and a little of Uganda, particularly in the cities. And it seems to be spreading rapidly, with increased mobility and better communications, into Somalia, Mozambique, the Congo, Malawi, and Zambia. It is thus beginning to be a link language between the English-, Portuguese-, and French-speaking zones. Even the European settlers have been forced to learn a little Swahili in order to cope with their marketing and their servants sucessfully. (Africans sometimes refuse to dignify this colonialist jargon by the name of Kiswahili; they refer to it as "Kisetla.") Estimates as to the actual number of speakers of the language vary enormously and are almost meaningless since they usually specify no criterion of judgment. The number of persons who can handle orally a vocabulary of a few hundred words in none-too-well-formed sentences may run as high as eight or ten million in all of East Africa; probably only a small fraction of that number are fully literate in the language.

Because Swahili is a *lingua franca* and African, it is considerably easier for a Kenyan to learn than is English. Even for a European, it is easier than most African languages to master. It contains a great many easily recognizable loan-words, and, in the course of the wide use and abuse that has been made of it, it has lost the tonal system which probably characterized it originally and which is still for a foreigner the most difficult feature of almost all other sub-Saharan tongues. One suspects, however, that there is some element of illusion in the rather extravagant claims regarding ease of mastery sometimes made by Swahili enthusiasts; everyone's ear is very tolerant of mistakes made in a *lingua franca* which is the mother tongue of hardly anyone and which is still used primarily for oral communication. Be that as it may, to make the average Kenyan child fully literate in Swahili would certainly require a good bit less time than to secure the same result in English.

Compared with any other language of East Africa, Swahili is blessed with an abundance of printed literature. This ranges from classical poetry and historical accounts written centuries ago on Zanzibar in Arabic script and in a heavily arabicized style, through traditional folktales, to modern short stories, political speeches, and government pamphlets. It is still true, nonetheless, that the total body of materials printed in the language, especially materials of solid educational or literary worth, leaves much to be desired. If all existing Swahili books and periodicals were gathered together in one copy each, there would probably be room enough to stack all of them atop one large dining-room table. In other words, an education conducted entirely in that language would, under present circumstances, lead to very little in the way of intellectual nourishment.

These circumstances may well change, of course, with the revival of interest in Swahili which has come with the independence of the East African countries; it is quite possible that the total Swahili bibliography may double in size within the next decade. Even so, it will be difficult for many years to come to find enough material in the language to put together a course of study extending over all standards and forms which will be rich enough to justify inclusion in the curriculum of the schools. It would appear, then, that the Kenyan educational authorities would be well advised to keep the extension of Swahili in the schools in step with the actual growth in importance of the language. A sizable premature extension might well produce the opposite of the desired effect; school children are quickly disillusioned with a study which lacks substance.

Another strong reason for caution is the fact that a considerable amount of language engineering will have to be undertaken if Swahili is to become in the near future a fully satisfactory medium for dealing with the various subject matters which make up education. No linguist would agree that any language is forever incapable of dealing with modern scientific thought; given time and skilled cultivation, Swahili can certainly reach the point where it can be used to treat any of the subjects that are of interest to the East African society of which the language is an expression. But the process will take time. Language engineering is notoriously a controversy-provoking activity, and its results are most often unpredictable. Swahili is spoken in an unusually wide variety of forms and it lacks an obvious center of gravity. Shall the schools teach the particular variety used in Zanzibar? Or Mombasa? Tanga? Dar-es-Salaam? Or will it be necessary to invent a neutral variety not actually spoken by anybody at present? If the latter, is it possible to set up an authority with enough power to impose the compromise solution? And who is to invent or choose the necessary specialized terminology? Who will enforce its use?

There remains to be considered the question of the role of the vernaculars in primary education. Unfortunately, little has been printed in any of them, and some of the minor ones have never been reduced to writing. Almost the only agency, governmental or private, which has concerned itself in a systematic way with the publication of vernacular materials is the East African Literature Bureau, founded in 1948 by the Governments of the three East African countries and still functioning in Nairobi. In the days of vernacular instruction prior to the advent of the NPA, the Bureau, with the sporadic aid of a few private publishers, had produced school readers and a small amount of supplementary instructional material in some twelve major Kenyan languages, with most being done in Kikuyu. There have been several attempts to establish vernacular periodicals, but these have met with no great success. The NPA has largely eliminated the demand for its school readers, and the Bureau now concerns itself principally with adult-literacy materials. Its *Catalogue of Books* for 1964 lists 123 titles in Kenyan languages classified under the following headings: grammars and language study; fiction and poetry; education and adult literacy; geography; agriculture and veterinary; civics, economics and administration;

health; history and biography; customs and traditions; money and trade, crafts, technical; and books for women.

No very strong case can be made, then, on the grounds of volume of existing printed materials, for the inclusion of vernacular instruction in the primary-school curriculum. A great deal can be said, however, from the point of view of the average Kenyan child and the meaning that his mother tongue has for him. Nothing is ever closer to a child, a more intimate part of his very personality, than the language in which he learns to express his first thoughts and in which he develops his relationships with those upon whom his early life depends. If his first experience with education is in a school where his vernacular is excluded or given no official role to play, he can hardly avoid being forced to two most unfortunate conclusions: 1) that education has little to do with the real life around him, and 2) that there is some mysterious element of inferiority in his mother tongue and hence in himself. The first conclusion, that education is somehow unreal, often leads to an excessive reliance on words and a failure to see the practical application of what is learned. The second, the suspicion of inferiority, may result in loss of self-confidence, unwillingness to take the initiative, or—by over-compensation—aggressively anti-social behavior.

When a child enters school, the first practical goal set for him is to learn to read and write; in a modern school, one of the first concerns of the teacher is to give him reading readiness. *The only language for which he can have any real reading readiness at the beginning of Standard I is his mother tongue.* It is only in his vernacular that he can have had the variety of experiences necessary to make reading meaningful. The essence of the process of learning to read is to learn to recognize in printed form the stock of words with which one is already thoroughly familiar in oral form. Such a stock of words is already available in the mother tongue, but it takes months to build it up in English. Experience in many parts of the world indicates that preliminary exercise in reading a phonetically spelled vernacular is an excellent preparation for learning to cope with the erratic spelling of English.

The almost universal reaction of teachers and parents to the NPA is that children exposed to it are much more active and responsive than were children taught through the old vernacular medium. On the surface, this seems paradoxical. How is it possible that children should be less responsive in their mother tongue than in a language as foreign to them as is English in Standard I? The answer, of course, lies in the dual nature of the NPA reforms: it is obviously not some magic quality of the English language which makes pupils respond, but rather the NPA methodology. It seems obvious that Kenyan children would react with even more freedom in their own vernacular than in English if the teaching methods were the same in both cases. Controlled experiments conducted in the Philippines indicate that a more enthusiastic pupil response during the initial years of school is one of the indisputable advantages of vernacular instruction.

Shortly before Mr. Hutasoit and I undertook our study, a group of distinguished educators appointed by the Government and known as the Kenya Education Commission had made recommendations concerning the general development of the national educational system. The Commission included in its deliberations a consideration of language policy. The *Commission Report* contains the following summary of its recommendations regarding language: "English should become the universal medium of instruction from Primary I, but Kiswahili should become a compulsory subject from Primary I wherever possible. Teachers of Kiswahili should be given further training in a crash programmer during school holidays" (p. 13, recommendation 48). There is no reference to the vernaculars in the summary, but the main body of the *Report* includes a brief paragraph about them: "The choice of the English medium does not mean that we wish to undermine the vernaculars. The vernacular languages are essential languages of verbal communication and we recognize no difficulty in including a daily period for story-telling in the vernacular, or similar activities, in the curriculum of Primary I, II and III" (p. 60, paragraph 171).

Hutasoit and I were happy to be able to add our recommendation to that of the Commission with regard to the use of English as the universal medium of instruction. The implementation of this proposal would require only that the expansion of the NPA now under way be carried through to its logical conclusion.

In general we agreed with the Commission's evaluation of the role which Swahili should play in Kenyan education, though we should prefer to see the introduction of that language as a compulsory subject postponed until Standard IV except in regions where it is the vernacular, or there are no teaching materials in the vernacular, or there is such a mixture of vernaculars as to make instruction in any one of them impractical. Postponement was suggested in order to avoid overloading the curriculum in Standards I, II and III with language work at the expense of other subject-matter areas. The simultaneous use of English, Swahili, and a vernacular at that level would surely result in such an overloading and create linguistic confusion. Introduced in Standard IV, Swahili would continue as a compulsory subject thereafter.

We could not help feeling that the Commission had underestimated the importance of the vernacular languages of Kenya and had overlooked their potentialities for contributing to the formation of the national character. Our own recommendation would be that as many young Kenyans as possible be given the opportunity to become comfortably literate in their mother tongue in primary school. We believe that this could be accomplished in the one period of instruction per day through Standards I, II and III which the Commission is willing to see devoted to "storytelling in the vernaculars or similar activities." We would go even further and urge that, throughout the second cycle of primary education (Standards IV–VII), one period per week should be allotted to keeping the earlier acquired literacy alive. This might take the form of an hour spent in the discussion of materials read, the writing of compositions about local or national problems, or any other activity suitable for promoting that verbal creativity which can always be cultivated most successfully in one's mother tongue.

An educational system which turned out graduates incapable of writing a readable letter home in the language of the village would be no credit to Kenya. In the foreseeable future, there will always be among the very disparate elements of Kenyan society some needs for written communication which cannot well be satisfied through English or Swahili. If the Commission was truly serious when it placed such heavy emphasis on the idea that "education must become more child-centered," what justification can there be for denying the child the right to literacy in the mother tongue which is so much a part of his personality? We cannot believe that it is really necessary, in the name of national unity and Pan-Africanism, to deprive African children of an essential part of the normal development to which children almost everywhere else in the world have easy access.

THE EDUCATION OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILD IN FLORIDA

Paul W. Bell

What can a school system do to meet the educational needs of a veritable deluge of thousands of students who are not typical of the kind of students they know and understand? More specifically, what can a system do to prepare itself for the influx of thousands of non-English-speaking students? This is the question which faced the Miami public schools when the Cuban refugees from the Fidel Castro regime began to pour into our city.

Among the possible answers which the school administration could have chosen were:

1) to close its institutional eyes and pretend that the problem did not exist, or
2) to acknowledge the problem but proceed to deal with it in ways which would ignore the uniqueness of the situation, or
3) to meet the problem head-on as a legitimate challenge to the professional competence and ingenuity of its educational forces.

Faced with a crisis too big to ignore, and one too complex to treat with traditional solutions, the Miami schools chose the third alternative.

The school system met the challenge on at least the three levels which I shall try to deal with in this paper: an organizational level, an instructional level, and a materials development level. Decisions made in each of these areas were predicated on the conviction that the principal educational objective in programs for non-English-speaking students must be to teach them English as effectively and efficiently as possible.

This does not mean that attention should not be paid to the pupils' adjustment or to their academic needs; it merely recognizes that in an American school the non-English-speaking pupils' first and greatest need is the rapid and efficient mastery of English. Our experience has been that mastery of English does more to speed adjustment than any special adjustment course which could be developed, and the academic needs of the pupil can be best met when the pupil has control of English.

With the basic premise that mastery of English has first priority, an official policy was adopted and a specific organization has been implemented. All non-English-speaking pupils in grades one through twelve are classified into one of the three categories: non-independent, intermediate, or independent. These classifications refer only to the pupils' ability to speak and understand English. They in no way refer to the pupils' intelligence or academic achievement. Language is the sole factor considered in the classification of pupils.

The non-independent pupils are those whose command of English is so limited that they cannot follow directions or carry on a simple conversation in English. They cannot express their basic needs in English. The pupils classified as non-independents are grouped together for instruction in English as a second language. In the elementary school, they may be grouped in self-contained classrooms or they may be drawn out of the regular classes for part of the day; in the secondary school they are scheduled together for up to three periods a day. In both elementary and secondary schools multi-grade groups of non-independents are formed so that their language needs can be efficiently met. The conviction here is that the needs of either the native speakers or the second language learners cannot be effectively met at this level in English classes which are made up both of non-English speakers and of native speakers, even when the native speakers themselves face the task of learning standard English.

In both elementary and secondary schools the non-independents have approximately three hours of English as a second language each day. For the remainder of the school day the non-independent pupils participate in those areas of the regular curriculum in which their lack of proficiency in English is not a serious handicap. It has been found that the non-English-speaking pupils can be successful in those classes taught in English in which achievement can be measured in terms of performance rather than through the ability to verbalize. Therefore, non-independents take art, music, physical education, industrial arts, home economics, and also mathematics on grade level.

Pupils who are able to communicate in English and who have some control of the basic features of English, but who still require special attention to their language problems are classified as intermediates. The intermediates study English-SL for approximately two hours each day. Like the non-independents, they take art, music, physical education, and mathematics on grade level. In addition, they begin to take other subjects from the regular curriculum, usually social studies or science. As their proficiency in English increases, more of the regular program is included in their daily schedules.

When a pupil demonstrates sufficient proficiency in English to allow him to participate in the full curriculum to the extent of his ability and interest, he is classified as independent. The independent pupils function like any other pupils in the school system except in being offered, along with the non-independents and intermediates, Spanish-S (Spanish as a vernacular) in place of Spanish as a foreign language. Spanish-S is a course offered only to the native speakers of Spanish in grades four through twelve. It is comparable in its approach to the English courses which we traditionally offer English-speaking pupils. That is to say, it is a language arts program in Spanish. An important aspect of the Miami program is its commitment to developing the Spanish-speaking child's literacy in his native language.

Classification and scheduling are kept flexible; movement from one level to another is made at any time the individual's progress indicates the advisability of reclassification. Normally, a pupil will spend no more than one year as a non-independent and one year as an intermediate, though, of course, some require less time, and a few require more.

At all times the classification into these three categories reflects the pupil's command of English and not his academic capabilities. The schools recognize that mastery of the language does not guarantee school success. The number of English-speaking pupils who fail each year attests to this fact.

Pupils on all grade levels are promoted or retained depending on their progress in the program being offered to them. High school pupils receive full English credit toward graduation for English-SL. They do not have to complete courses in English-SL and then take the regular English offered to English-speaking pupils in order to be graduated. These pupils also receive full credit for Spanish-S. English-SL and Spanish-S are offered in recognition of the unique educational needs of the non-English-speaking pupil. It is a realistic attempt on the part of the school administration to meet the needs of the bilingual pupil without penalizing him for having these needs. Credit for English-SL as a substitute for regular English enables the pupils to move ahead at the normal rate of progress.

Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the Miami organization lies in the staffing of the program, for it very often employs a unique team-teaching organization. A team of three is assigned to each sixty pupils. The team is composed of one certified North American teacher and two Cuban aides recruited from among the refugee teachers living in Miami. The certified teacher has the responsibility for developing the instructional program, but the aides participate in the planning and execution of the program.

These former Cuban teachers have made an invaluable contribution to the instructional program. They also serve as a liaison between the Spanish-speaking community and school. This link is strengthened because of the involvement of the aide in the school's instructional program. The aide is identified by the parent as someone working directly with the child in instruction, not just an interpreter.

An organization, at its best, is only the framework within which instructional programs are developed, so a curriculum has evolved which recognizes the basic need to teach the students to understand, speak, read, and write English. And at the same time, it provides for the development of an educated bilingual, literate in his native language as well as in the second language.

The curriculum in English for the non-English-speaking students involved in English-SL classes is based on an audio-lingual approach to language teaching incorporated into a language arts framework. Non-English-speaking in Miami means exactly what it says. Pupils from non-English mother tongue homes whose control of English allows them to participate in the regular program are not called non-English-speaking.

In the English class for the non-English-speaking, one hour is devoted to oral drill and pattern practice; a second hour is devoted to a reading and writing follow-up of the material practiced orally. In grades three through twelve textbooks used for this phase of instruction are the *Fries American English Series,* a series of texts which utilizes an audio-lingual approach to language teaching. A third hour devoted to English-SL is called receptive level reading, which is, to a large extent, close factual reading. The purpose of this reading class is to help the child who is already literate to transfer from his vernacular to English the reading and study skills which he has previously acquired in his native language. The intent of the reading class is not primarily to teach concepts but rather to teach English language and study skills.

A special program which will be discussed in more detail in another part of this paper has been developed for first and second grade pupils and others who are not literate in their first language. In addition to these English-SL programs courses of studies for an articulated Spanish-S program have also been developed.

Naturally, these programs demand teachers with special skills and competencies not usually found among traditionally trained elementary and secondary teachers. Teachers trained in developing concepts, using problem-solving techniques, have to be trained also to deal with the language problems of non-English-speaking pupils. Therefore, during the past five years in-service training courses have been offered both during the school year and as part of our summer programs. In the summer of 1966 over one hundred teachers and eighty aides will participate in a six-week workshop in the teaching of English as a second language and in teaching Spanish as a vernacular. As part of the methods course the teachers conduct classes in English-SL and Spanish-S for the pupils involved in voluntary summer classes. For their participation, the teachers are paid a salary equal to that of summer school teachers. The training program is very similar to an NDEA Institute except that in previous institutes over ten thousand pupils have received instruction in English-SL.

Recognizing that preparing non-English-speaking pupils to enter the main stream of American education has been and will continue to be a long-range problem facing the schools in Miami, in the Southwest, and in other parts of the country, the Dade County Public Schools applied to the Ford Foundation and received a grant of $278,000 to be used in the development of instructional materials for first and second grade non-English-speaking pupils in American schools. The materials which were developed are designed to fill a gap that has long existed in American education.

The staff involved in this project has produced the *Miami Linguistic Readers* series, a two-year language and reading program which is the basis for the Dade County first and second grade curriculum for non-English-speaking pupils. The materials, which were field-tried with over 6,000 pupils in Miami and throughout the Southwestern part of the United States, were developed according to a set of basic premises which reflect an approach to teaching beginning reading as well as to the teaching of English as a second language. They represent an attempt to bring together the findings of modern linguistic science and the pedagogical practices of conventional developmental reading programs within a highly motivating content featuring characters and experiences with which these children can identify.

The series is based on the following premises:

1) That the content of beginning reading materials must deal with those things which time has shown are truly interesting to children;
2) That the materials must reflect the natural language forms of children's speech;
3) That the child must have aural-oral control of the material he is expected to read;
4) That grammatical structure as well as vocabulary must be controlled;
5) That the child must learn to read by structures if he is to master the skills involved in the act of reading;

6) That the presentation of sound-symbol correspondences in beginning reading materials should be in terms of spelling patterns rather than in terms of individual letter-sound correspondences;
7) That in developing beginning reading materials the focus must be on the skills involved in the process of reading rather than on the uses to which reading is put after the process is mastered;
8) That writing experiences reinforce listening, speaking, and reading;
9) That the learning load in linguistically oriented materials must be determined in terms of the special nature of the materials;
10) And that the materials must be so selected and organized that they will enable the learner to achieve success as he progresses through the materials.

The *Miami Linguistic Readers* series consists of pupils' books, "big books," seatwork booklets, and teachers' manuals. The pupils' books correspond to the preprimers, primers, and readers of other developmental reading series. The "big books" provide charts for inducing language practice and for focusing on reading problems which need special attention. The seatwork booklets provide writing activities that will reinforce oral expression and reading, and the teachers' manuals describe activities for language, reading and writing practice. The series, in its experimental edition, is being published by D. C. Heath and Company.

Another unique feature of the Miami bilingual program is the bilingual school which began functioning in September of 1963. In Coral Way Elementary School, an established neighborhood school, the parents of children in grades one, two, and three were given the opportunity to enroll their children in what is probably the first bilingual public school in the United States.

At the beginning of this school year Coral Way was offering both English- and Spanish-speaking children in grades one through five an instructional program in two languages: English and Spanish. All the pupils in these grades spend approximately one half of the school day studying the regular curriculum in their native language and the other half studying in a second language. For example, during the morning, an English-speaking child studies reading, arithmetic, science, social studies, and the other subjects of his grade in English. In the afternoon, he studies these same subject areas in Spanish with native Spanish-speaking teachers. In this way he learns not only to speak a second language, but also to read it, write it, and study in it.

At the present time there are twenty-three classes involved in this program, half from each language background. Half of the teachers are native speakers of English and half are native speakers of Spanish. Next September sixth grade classes will be added, thereby completing a full six-year bilingual elementary program. It is assumed that by the end of the elementary school program, the native speakers of English and the native speakers of Spanish will be equally proficient in both languages and will, therefore, be able to move into a bilingual secondary program. The pupils in the upper grades are already able to study American history in English and Latin American history in Spanish, regardless of their vernacular. They are becoming bilingual and to a larger extent bi-cultural. At present additional bilingual schools are being planned in sections of Miami.

Five years ago, Miami and the Dade County Public Schools faced what seemed to many to be almost insurmountable obstacles. Today, though it is true that many problems still exist, the solutions adopted have enabled over 22,000 pupils who came to the Miami schools knowing no English to move into the mainstream of its educational program. It is evident that the problem has brought with it the possibility for exciting and valuable experimentation which would not otherwise have taken place. Under the enlightened leadership of the school administration, Miami is attempting to develop programs which better serve the educational needs of all pupils, both English-speaking and non-English-speaking. These may someday help to make of Miami a truly bilingual community.

"An estimated one hundred or more different Indian languages are still spoken in this country today. Each is as different from the others as Chinese is from French."

—From the remarks of Congressman Ben Reifel at the third national conference on Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, March 17, 1966.

TEACHING ENGLISH TO ALASKA NATIVES

Leo H. Salisbury

Alaska natives form a minority group of unique nature and immense proportions: of the 226,000 total Alaskan population according to the 1960 census, only 146,000 can be considered to be non-transient.[1] Forty-three thousand of this number, or almost thirty percent of our permanent State population are Alaska natives: Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut.

Unlike cultural minorities in other states, the Alaska native has not been deliberately segregated from the white population. There are no tribal reservations of the type which exists in the lower 48 states, and comparatively little discrimination exists. Yet the Alaska native has been unable to assume the rights and responsibilities of full citizenship and continues to be a ward of the Federal Government.

There have been several important indications recently that the native population itself is aware of its lack of representation and is motivated to do something about it. A strong native rights association has been formed in Fairbanks which is urging educational reform. A weekly newspaper, *Tundra Times,* attempts to present the native's point of view on matters of public concern. The Alaska native finds that it is no longer possible to remain isolated from the dominant culture which presses in upon him from every side. He is, inexorably, in transition toward a culture in which he must find a place. He must communicate his needs and feelings in a strange society which does not understand him; yet, he must go forward.

By most standards, Alaskan native peoples can be considered to be among the most isolated ethnic groups in our entire country. Geographically, they are scattered throughout a land mass one-fifth the size of the lower forty-eight states. Although many native families have migrated to larger urban communities, the majority of them continue to live in small villages ranging in size from 50 to 1500 persons, along the seacoast and the navigable rivers and creeks inland. Few of the smaller villages have telephones, fewer have running water, and only a small proportion can pick up an AM radio signal. Most of them are inaccessible by road. Bush plane, dog sled, small boats, or the recently introduced snow vehicles are the chief modes of transportation to and from the settlements. Prior to white contact, many of the northern people were nomadic family groups who followed their food supply—the caribou herds. With the establishment of churches, missions, schools, and hospitals much of the nomadic movement has ceased. Compulsory education laws have required that families remain close enough to population settlements so that their children can attend school. During the summer, families migrate to their traditional camping spots where a good supply of fish may be caught and preserved for the coming winter. To a great extent, the village people still rely upon hunting and fishing for subsistence.

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[1] The remaining 80,000 constitute: Military and dependents (75,000) and D.E.W. (Distant Early Warning) line personnel and dependents (5,000).

Communication between natives living in cities and their relatives and friends in the village is often accomplished via tap recorder. The recipient in the village, if he is too poor to afford a machine, is often allowed to use the one belonging to the school. Because none of the Alaskan native peoples has a *written language,* this new mode of transmitting the *spoken* word has become extremely important. It may also be in some measure responsible for the preservation of the native languages. However, not all Alaska natives in a particular area can communicate with each other orally. The Tsimpsian, Haida, and Tlingit Indian peoples in the southeastern panhandle speak different languages. The Aleut language spoken along the Chain and on the Pribilof Islands, although derived from the same source as the Eskimo, is understood nowhere else. The Athapaskan Indians of the northern interior region show profound dialectal differences, and the Eskimo, who represents the largest segment of the native population, may not be understood by his neighbor a few hundred miles away.

Complicating the Alaska native's problem of geographic and linguistic isolation is his cultural attitude toward sharing problems. Many teachers and mental health personnel have noted that he has difficulty in verbalizing and communicating his subjective reactions to situations; when something is bothering him, he is unlikely to communicate it even to his peers or to his family.[2]

This condition adds yet another dimension to his isolation. Not only are his people geographically dispersed without the bonds of common dialect or written communication, but even within the tight familial and peer group structure of his own village he may be isolated with problems he cannot share.

Perhaps we can better understand the communication problems of the Alaskan native people by examining the child-rearing practices of the largest Alaskan native ethnic group, the Eskimo. From a very early age the Eskimo child is trained to "fit in" to his society. Whereas the Western child is often encouraged to excel, the Eskimo child is trained to conform—to become "just like the others." This training consists of casual but consistent encouragement in the techniques of survival. Affirmative rather than negative means are used: for example, if a child walks dangerously near a hot stove, or toddles over toward the edge of a swollen river, his elders will say in a friendly fashion *"tai tai"* (or roughly, "come, come, see what you are doing?"). Stories which stress the terrible consequences of non-conformity are repeatedly told to children. Much of the folklore is allegorical. Modes of behavior and social attitudes are reinforced in this way.

Ostracism is an extremely potent means of social control among the native peoples. In a society which is small, isolated, and extremely homogeneous, any violation of the social code becomes a matter of group concern. Each member of this tightly knit group depends for his existence upon his fellows. Without their cooperation and help he will not survive. His survival in another sense depends upon his group. He maintains his identity by fulfilling his role as a group member. Should he act in a fashion which endangers the physical survival of the group, he is cut off from them. People ignore him—he no longer exists; in a sense, he is symbolically "killed" by ostracism. In this sense, the Western expression "we cut him dead" is remarkably applicable.

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[2] Seymour Parker, "Eskimo and Indian Values and Motivation for Education in Three Selected Alaskan Villages," in *Alaska Native Secondary School Dropouts: a Research Report,* Charles K. Ray, Director (University of Alaska, 1962).

By the time the native child reaches the age of seven, his cultural and language patterns have been set, and his parents are required by law to send him to school. Until this time he is likely to speak only his local dialect of Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo, or if his parents have had some formal schooling, he may speak a kind of halting English.

He now enters a completely foreign setting—the Western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a Caucasian who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the *Dick and Jane* series. Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two *gussuk*[3] children who play together. Yet, he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named Spot who comes indoors and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called "office" each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an "automobile" on a hard covered road called a "street" which has a "policeman" on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing, and spend their time helping children to cross the street. Why do these children need this help? Dick and Jane's mother spends a lot of time in the kitchen cooking a strange food called "cookies" on a stove which has no flame in it. But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the "country," which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents seem to be "kept." They do not live with the family, and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain that they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason. The old people live on something called a "farm," which is a place where many strange animals are kept—a peculiar beast called a "cow," some odd looking birds called "chickens," and a "horse" which looks like a deformed moose. And so on. For the next twelve years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of no earthly use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice, and tundra which he sees around him.

In addition, the student is likely to lose his native language in the education process. His teachers do not speak his language nor do they encourage its use during school hours. In many schools students are absolutely forbidden to use the native language. Therefore many native students come to feel that the language of their parents is undesirable and inferior.

Since the economy of the average native family in Alaska is marginal, at best, there are often strong pressures from the home for the child to leave school and help his family in its daily struggle for survival. The father needs his sons to help him hunt and fish; the mother needs her daughter to help at home with the children. So it is not surprising that sixty percent of native youngsters never reach the eight grade.

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[3] One of the Eskimo terms for white person, derived from the Russian word *Cossack*.

By the time that the native student from a bush community reaches high school age it is necessary for him to leave his home and village to attend a boarding high school for four years. Here he lives in a dormitory with other Alaska natives, and his sole contact with Western culture is through his teachers and his text books. When he returns to his village each summer he finds only vestiges of his formerly comfortable family relationship, and he encounters increasing frustrations because of the differences between himself and his village. His exposure to Western education has taught him to respect (though not necessarily to understand) Western standards, and at the same time it has decreased his respect for the native culture. He finds himself, figuratively, with a foot in each culture, unable fully to identify with either group and accepted by neither as well. The male student finds that he is no longer of any use to his father as a hunter or a fisherman; he has lost his status as a male member of his village. The girl who returns often finds the sanitary conditions in the village hard to adjust to. She has lost many of the domestic skills she may have had: skinning animals, cooking, and making clothing. Many of her peers are already married and have children. Her ability to speak English and her new way of dress and behavior set her apart from the other village girls who may think she has become "too good" for them. All of these high school students—with the exception of the twenty-eight percent who have dropped out along the way—are in the process of becoming what the anthropologists term "marginal" people—they have been swept along by a system which is estranging them from their friends and relatives back home.

For many of these students high school graduation represents the point of no return. If they have come this far, it is unlikely that they will ever return to the village permanently. Unless they go farther, however, it is even more unlikely that they will be able to secure permanent jobs in the cities to which they migrate. Some of them choose to enter college.

We first meet these students when they arrive in the fall. Most of them are unable to pay their own tuition expense, and so upon declaration of the fact that they are one-quarter or more native blood, they receive Bureau of Indian Affairs scholarship money. One-eighth of last year's entering freshman class at the University of Alaska were Alaska natives. Although they represent all three of Alaska's native ethnic groups, they are predominantly Eskimo. As entering freshmen they are joined by other Alaska natives who have come from the larger cities in Alaska and have attended predominantly white high schools. These native students from urban schools are less likely to speak their original language and may be more racially dilute. But we quickly learn that percentage of white blood is no index of acculturation: one of our sophomore boys, a graduate of Anchorage High School, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlinghetti with no trace of an accent, yet he is a pure blooded Eskimo. He stands in striking contrast to a blond, blue-eyed, fair skinned, part-Aleut girl from King Cove who speaks with the characteristic native inflection and who mixes only with the other native students. Although it might seem that with a heterogeneous group of this kind it would be difficult to make generalizations, we can make certain predictions: over fifty percent of them are likely to drop out at the end of their freshman year, and less than two percent of them are likely to receive the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years. If we take last year's group of fifty entering freshmen as an example (and our dropout statistics prevail), twenty-five of them will not return to school this fall, and only one of them is likely to receive a degree at the end of four years.

It is a sad fact that the Alaskan native student who has somehow managed to survive attrition rates of sixty percent in elementary school and twenty-eight percent in high school still finds the odds to be overwhelmingly against him by the time he reaches college. Why is he twice as likely to drop out in college as one of his non-native peers? A look at the social fabric of his culture may provide some clues.

Some years ago, I conducted the language portion of an enrichment program for native students from age ten to grade eight. One of the questions we asked them was, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" We got the usual range of vocational choices—nurses, teachers, doctors, bush pilots—all vocations they could see around them. But several of the younger ones still reflected their parents' teaching: "A good seal hunter," said one boy. "A good berry picker," said a girl, and finally, the response which summed it all up: "Eskimo!"

To be a good Eskimo means that you stick with your group; you do not try to excel at the expense of others. In the environment of the arctic, where survival is a daily problem, the likelihood of individual achievement at the expense of your group is a pervasive fear. Thus, you live cooperatively or you perish.

Translating this into terms of the Western classroom this means that the teacher cannot motivate the student with the rewards which are so successful with middle-class white students: praise or prizes often prove to be a source of embarrassment rather than encouragement. The Western notion of progress emerging from the "healthy clash of ideas" is in direct variance with the native student's way of dealing with others. If he disagrees with you, he will not tell you this directly: this is not polite and it is pointless. He will either seem to agree with you or he will withdraw. His opinion will not change, but you will never know this.

The group of college-bound native students who have managed to survive twelve years of formal Western education have obviously had to do some competing in order to come this far. They have had to recognize that by deciding to continue their education they have violated the strong familial and group ties which bind their people together. In terms of their traditional culture they have acted selfishly and without thought of others. Yet they believe that by breaking away they can serve their group better. Some of their parents understand this and encourage them to continue their schooling. But for many of them it is a painful decision which is fraught with many misgivings.

We have just completed the second year of a summer orientation program[4] which is designed to help the Alaskan native student to adjust to college life and to perceive and verbalize his problems freely. The focal point of the program is to improve his ability to communicate his thoughts and feelings to

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[5] College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives, Project D-157, jointly supported by the Cooperative Research Bureau of the U. S. Office of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the University of Alaska Division of Statewide Services, will terminate in Fiscal 1968.

others. Our approach is predicated on the assumption that his imperfect use of English is due to the fact that although he has received twelve years of formal Western education, he has not lived within the Western culture. His only contact with Caucasians has been his teachers, missionaries, and various public health and social workers he may have had occasion to meet. He has no *concrete* idea of the culture which his new language expresses. He has great gaps in his background which set him apart from rural youth in other parts of our country. I think we will agree that much of what we learn as we grow up is not from schoolbooks. We absorb it by our contacts with our families, our friends, and our environment generally. It has been said that a person living in the mainstream of his culture is no more aware of it than a fish is aware of the water in which he swims.

Compounding the native's communication problem is the fact that he has come from a culture where he has been reinforced for reticence. Although he may have come from a high school where the students were encouraged to discuss and debate certain issues, if his classmates were all natives, it is unlikely that he has developed any real skill in expressing his ideas clearly and directly. He has never seen the lively exchange of opinions which (hopefully) characterizes the Western college classroom.

Our problem then is two-fold:

1. To broaden the student's background of experience within the Western culture so that his conceptual knowledge of the English language will improve, and
2. To enable the student to realize that his thoughts and feelings are important and have real value when they are expressed clearly and effectively.

At the same time, we must examine our own motives in speeding the native student's acculturation process. Do we wish to convert him to our Western ways (which we are often inclined to regard as superior) and divorce him completely from his native background? Or do we wish to acquaint him with the best our society has to offer and allow him to choose those elements from it and from his original culture that he wishes to accept? The answer is obvious. If we hasten his acculturation at the expense of his native cultural background, we have cut him off at the roots and destroyed his identity. On the other hand, he can develop a deeper appreciation of his original culture and an understanding of his adopted one if he is able to compare them objectively.

For this reason the program includes a regular freshman level anthropology course which he attends daily as a regular summer session student. The course is taught by an anthropologist whose specialty is Alaskan native cultures. After class the program students meet in an informal seminar situation in which the general concepts taught in the regular course are specifically related to the culture of contemporary native Alaskans. In this session many cross-cultural problems are discussed. At first the problems are suggested by the instructor but, as the sessions progress and the students come to know and trust the staff, the students propose the problems themselves. From these informal bull-sessions came many insights which the students discussed and later wrote about in another part of the program, the Language and Communication sessions.

This class is taught jointly by a specialist in speech and an English teacher. Writing assignments always grow out of speaking experiences. Provocative films and books are used to spark discussion. For example, *The Miracle Worker,* the story of Helen Keller's first language experiences, is used as a springboard for the unit on language; *Raisin in the Sun,* a film dealing with the struggles of a Chicago Negro family, is used to explore minority group problems and the process of developing a self-image in depressed economic circumstances.

An exciting insight emerged one day during the discussion of this film. The students suddenly perceived a relationship between Walter Lee's (the protagonist in the film) problem and their own. The question arose as to whether Walter Lee's old mother, the matriarch of the family, did the right thing in allowing him to make an unwise investment of $20,000 in a liquor store. Water Lee had never had a chance to handle this much money before; yet, he was tired of being a chauffeur and wanted to change his luck. The audience could plainly see that he would lose the money. Two of the program students who came from a religious mission high school said that his mother had made a mistake; he was too innocent to handle money and could not be trusted to manage his own affairs. Other students immediately countered, "But he's thirty-five years old," "He's a grown man with two children," and one girl who had never spoken up before said with great emotion, "How is he ever going to learn unless he makes his own mistakes?" We had a full-fledged discussion on our hands for the first time.

Examples came thick and fast: "When they don't trust us in high school (referring to their boarding schools which are run in a regimented manner), we don't trust ourselves." Then came a description of how the rigidly structured schools from which they had come had never allowed them to make their own decisions . . . "you bathe at a certain hour," "you eat at a certain time," "you must go to the library at a certain time," "you get your mail at a certain time," "they lead us around by the hand," "we want to grow up but they won't let us," and then, finally, came the realization, "it's the same thing with our parents . . . they won't let them grow up either." For "they" we can substitute the government, the schools, the missionaries, in short—the White Establishment.

From here on the discussions became freer. We could see a physical change come over many of the students. They seemed to stand straighter, to laugh more easily and less self-consciously, and to be almost eager to express their opinions. It was as though by being able to express hostility toward certain Caucasians they had met that they had somehow liberated themselves.

Some of the students were able to write insightfully of their own problems in communication. An older student described a breakdown in communication within his own cultural group. Although the syntax is poor, an elegiac mood is conveyed:

> Almost six years seems to be a long time to be away from King Island. Since then I've been working on mine fields and one time as a garage serviceman. It was little hard to settle back in King Island after all these years, to get new tools made up to carve ivory and to prepare new hunting equipment.
>
> Just before Christmas the young men decorated the classroom in the school building.

> For a week we held games in the evenings and had a good time. Everytime I was there I noticed a girl eyeing at me. We kept looking at each other all that time. I'd thought that this young lady wasn't just around ten years ago. But why didn't she do that among people her own age? Did she ever think I may have had other affairs while I was away?
>
> Of course I was getting interested in such a young, attractive-looking girl. Later we got acquainted, starting from a card game. We waited on a meeting to be left alone by other people, and not be caught outdoors by a person on a porch with my arms around her.
>
> Six months later she refused my inquiry for marriage. I left the village again and heard she had marired a young man from down the coast.
>
> A year later I met her again in Fairbanks. She was half-drunk on the streets. There on the roads I tried battling to free my arms from her strong grip. It was raining and people were looking at us from the cars. So I gave up the little struggle and joined her in a bar. She was accusing another girl in the city which was of no concern to me. So all the time it may be that our trouble is communication which is too late to be solved now.

Perhaps one of the most important broadening experiences which the program affords is the home-living aspect of the session. Rather than staying in the dormitory for the six-week period, each student lives with a carefully selected Western family. In some cases it is possible to place the student with a family whose father is engaged in the profession he wishes to enter.

We have found that during the regular school year the native student rarely mixes socially with non-natives. Experience has shown that native students are inclined to eat together, room together, and socialize within their own group. Strong social pressures are exerted by the group to preserve this unity. The native student who chooses to socialize outside of the group is often ostracized by them—a most painful experience if he is not yet secure enough to act independently.

Living with a family during the summer gives the student an opportunity to socialize and mingle with non-natives without the risk of social penalty from his own group. It affords him a glimpse of the kind of home and life he may someday decide he wants for himself. It allows him to meet and know people he might not otherwise encounter, and it gives him an understanding he can acquire in no other way of the middle-class Western family.

At the conclusion of the program each student was given a thirteen-page evaluation form, to be submitted anonymously, in which he was asked to rate the worth and interest value of each aspect of the program. These are some of the individual responses about the program in general:

> "I never experienced such a free atmosphere before in school, in high school I was dominated by rules. Here I make my time and studying convenient for me."
>
> "I truly enjoyed these six weeks here at the University and with (my host family). I know that in my years here, I will always have somewhere to go if I ever get lonely. I now have a second home."
>
> "They weren't strangers anymore."
>
> "I will always remember their kindness, consideration, helpfulness, and the way they accepted me into their family. They will never be forgotten by me."
>
> "I wish I didn't have to go back home. I want to stay here until I finish college then go back home."
>
> "Everything is new and different, makes it fun to find new things. I beginning to know who I am and what I want to do. I'm not as confused as I usually am."
>
> "My interest in outside things is improving. I find that its more fun."
>
> "I have a better look at the totality."
>
> "I'm beginning to find out that I have to be independent in whatever I do. I plan to make mistakes on my own accord and not with someone else involved."
>
> "I have found that in order to make friends all you have to do is be friendly and talk."

No real evaluations of the worth of this program can be made until these students are followed through college. Some of them will drop out of school for one reason or another, and certain benefits of the program may not accrue until these students have children and send them off to school. It is certain that acculturation cannot be effected in a six-week, a six-month, or even a six-year program. It must begin with the earliest school experiences of the child and develop through a curriculum specifically designed to meet his needs. A dramatic modification in methodology and materials is necessary if this problem is to be solved. Hopefully, this pilot program represents a significant step toward the solution of many similar cross-cultural communication problems in the world today.

"Emerson mentions a Jove that sits on the shoulder of each of us, and as we talk to each other, the Jove on the other person's shoulder also enters the interchange of thought to give fuller meaning and substance to the communication. Assuming that there is this added something that increases understanding, I have often wondered how confusing the conversation must be if my Jove speaks only Sioux and yours only English."

—From the remarks of Congressman Ben Reifel at the third national conference on Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, March 17, 1966.

THE MOST POWERFUL EDUCATIONAL WEAPON IN OUR WAR ON POVERTY: TEACHING ENGLISH TO ENVIRONMENTALLY HANDICAPPED PUPILS AND TO PUPILS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

John B. King

I am grateful for this opportunity to talk with you about a subject that is very dear to my heart, "Teaching English as a Second Language." However, it is only fair to point out that despite that emotional attachment, I can bring the subject only the rather limited insights of a general practitioner. I start, therefore, with certain obvious handicaps and four assumptions that you may consider at least questionable:

1. I believe that effective communication is *the* most vital force in determining an individual's personal and social fulfillment.
2. I believe that effective communication *with* the past, and *in* the present is *the* most vital force in determining the future of a democratic society.
3. I believe that education in a democracy is largely a process of helping an individual to understand himself, to develop his potential to the full, to understand his society and to communicate with that society in such manner as to assure or at least promote mutual growth.
4. I believe that the individual's communication with himself and with the other members of his group, both of which are so vital to the realization of the ideals of democracy, is far more difficult of achievement in a multilingual society than it is in a society that is largely bilingual or monolingual.

Therefore, if effective communication is accepted as the core of education for a democratic society, then the fundamental problem becomes, "What are the basic elements of a dynamic educational program designed to achieve that effective communication?"

First, it is necessary to get a clear understanding of the nature of our changing society.

Second, we need a clear delineation of the nature, goals, means and methods of communication in the different societies of which our nation is comprised.

Third, we need to establish the machinery attuned to the nature of our society and of communication, and necessary to the accomplishment of the goals of both.

And here is where we look to our specialists in the colleges and universities and to the specially trained personnel in our schools for the analysis, research, experimentation and appraisal that will elucidate these basic elements in an educational program for effective communication. To the anthropologists and sociologists we look for a clearer understanding of the nature of our changing society—the evolution of cultural democracy through the stages of cultural conformity, cultural pluralism and cultural diversity. To the specialists in linguistics we look for a clear delineation of the nature, goals, means and methods of first, second and third language communication. To the psychologists we look for clearer insight into how the individual and group mind works or doesn't work in the language area. And then, we look to our specialists in pedagogy, our teachers and supervisors, to fuse and apply what is revealed to them by these disciplines into the kinds of live, imaginative, dynamic curriculum, methodology and instructional materials required to fulfill the needs, interests and abilities of both our advantaged and environmentally handicapped children.

Granted, that in all this, many will have a major role to play, still the key figure will be the teacher. Despite all that is done by curriculum writers, by schools of education, by other departments in the colleges and universities, by boards of education, by school administrators, by publishers, by federal-funding and all the rest—the one simple but crucial question is and always will be, "What is happening in the classroom—where the action is? Is the teacher really teaching more effectively, and is the child really learning to communicate more effectively within himself and with others?" It is my feeling that the whole process of wholesome personality development and of thinking, as an individual and as a member of a group, is nothing more than communicating within one's self and with others. Attaching words to ideas and things perceived, relating them to feelings and experiences, remembering and reorganizing them in terms of will and commitment is a kind of communication process that goes on within every individual.

I view reading as the culmination, the outcome, end-product of this dual process of communication—the individual with himself and the individual with others. This is only one more of my basic assumptions with which you may very well not agree. I think we have been teaching reading, and teaching teachers to teach reading, from the top down instead of from the bottom up. I think we've failed, particularly with environmentally handicapped children and with children of a foreign language background from home or abroad, because they hear and speak one language and we teach them to read another. In other words, if we want children to read the English found in most books, newspapers and magazines, either we change the language in which they are written or teach English as a third language. While this is of course more obvious in the case of children of foreign language backgrounds, it is nonetheless true of the environmentally handicapped. To me, any other approach for disadvantaged children or children of foreign language background is much too costly, superficial and self-defeating, especially when viewed in terms of the ability to communicate effectively as the core of a sound educational program in a democracy.

I think most of us recognize the teaching of reading as the most urgent educational problem of our times—reading failure is almost as great a scourge on our society as cancer. Let's think together for a while about developing skill in communication in English as a third language as a possible means of combating this devastating social affliction—reading failure.

Let's look at three different youngsters coming into our public schools. While visiting a school in the Bronx a few weeks ago, I met Juan, a ten-year-old Puerto Rican boy. Juan had gotten into trouble in his class and was visiting an Auxiliary Teacher who was talking to him in a kind of dialectal vernacular or broken English that we might call "Spenglish." I heard him say, "Si, I feel 'ahmseek'." He meant *homesick*. When we chatted later, he told me he had come to New York from Ponce about four years ago. He had lived in New Jersey up to two years ago with his "real" mother and his stepfather. He said, "my 'real' mother didn't want me any more, so my 'real' father took me and now I live with my 'real' father and my stepmother. I like my 'real' father; he takes me to the park to play baseball."

When I asked Juan how his reading was, he wrinkled his nose and twisted his face in such a way as to leave not the slightest doubt in any one's mind. When I asked if it was really that bad, he nodded unhesitatingly in the affirmative. But his big dark eyes lit up and fairly sparkled when I asked him if he could read Spanish. We eventually found a paper-back in Spanish, a story called "La Trampa," and Juan eagerly read the first few pages with great aplomb, pausing frequently to translate for me in delightful Spenglish and to sound out some of the polysyllabic words with a kind of prideful abandon. I asked him if he would like to read a little from one of the books in English. Juan's face fell, and his now sombre mien warned me that I was fast losing a new-found friend. Juan very sheepishly but courteously declined with an explanation that he didn't like the kind of English they put in the book. What he really meant was that he couldn't read the third language because it had a new, strange and different sound system and structure that wasn't good for people who wanted to be friends.

With the environmentally handicapped child who does not come from a foreign language background, while the problem is far less obvious, in some instances quite subtle, it is nonetheless real and is substantially the same basic language problem as with pupils speaking Spanish and "Spenglish." The child from the rural South may say, "He caint jahve me lak dat an spec me to cool it. Ah ain't fixin' t' cool nuthin'." The difference in vocabulary, the difference in intonation, the difference in pronunciation, the difference in stress and the difference in structure makes the formal English in books a new and strange and different and unfriendly language. If this is the language in which that child communicates, what happens when he looks at the third language in the reader? While it is true that for some children coming from the ghettos of our city, this may only be a second language, the reader is still inviting them to visit a foreign land and converse in an unfriendly foreign tongue.

Now, if we meet with a third child living in homogenized suburbia or in one of the so-called favored areas of our city, what do we find? All homes, mortgages and families are of the same size, shape and color; the daily habits of shopping, dress and travel are identical; the fun and games are the same, and the same language is spoken by these "same people" with the same stress, same vocabulary, same intonation and same language patterns as we find in the books of stories written by, for and about these same people living these same middle-class lives. Just as you can, without ever having seen her, guess the weight of the lady of the house who conforms through diet and exercise to standards set by Hollywood decree, you can also predict with equal accuracy just what she will say and how she will say it as part of a conversation at any time, on any topic. In such a homogenized utopia for conformists, language-wise and otherwise, most children of average intelligence or better should learn to read almost by osmosis. All communication is monolingual; the child is constantly hearing it and is continuously invited and challenged to talk, gaining thereby frequent and consistent practice in producing the sounds, the vocabulary, the stress, the intonation and the language patterns almost identical with those that he will meet in books, magazines and newspapers, in his home, as well as in his school. I often think that when pupils live a monolingual existence like this, and enjoy all the other advantages of a well-organized, well-fed family life, far removed from the more threatening environment of the city, it would be much more difficult to keep them from learning how to read than it would be to teach them to do so.

All three of these youngsters will have to go through the very same five-step language process to gain success in reading English. The advantaged youngster living in a well-protected, hot-house environment will be spoon-fed the sound system and structure of one language with which he is familiar almost from birth, while the other two children will have to acquire a new sound system and structure in what is for them a third language under conditions so unfavorable that they cannot even be visualized by most people who are themselves products of the hot-house environments of the middle-class outer city and homogenized suburbia.

The reading mastery that we strive for will evolve as the last of the five stages in the communication process. Let's think of reading as a process of conversation between the reader and the speaker who is not present. The absent speaker's talk is written down and the reader, in reading, actually vocalizes inwardly what the speaker is saying through the written symbols. To do this successfully, the reader must be able to identify and reproduce the sounds, the vocabulary, the stress, the intonation and the language patterns, and simulate the rhythms and inflections that he thinks the speaker would use if he were present. He must, therefore, have previously mastered these five basic steps in the communication process:

FIRST—*He must have acquired skill in listening,* a kind of ear-training through which he becomes familiar with the sound system and structure of formal English; he must be able to recognize the sounds, the words, the language patterns, the accents, the rhythm and the intonations.

This phase of learning the new language should be started as early in the child's life as possible, just as when he first learned to talk. The younger he is when he starts, the fewer the interferences, the fewer things competing for attention and memory, and the less he has to unlearn.

SECOND—*He must have acquired skill in speaking.* He must be able to accurately reproduce what he has heard—the sounds, the words, the language patterns with the appropriate stress and intonation, produced initially by a good model.

Both the Puerto Rican and Negro child need much help through meaningful, graded, sequential, audio-lingual experiences in reproducing initial and final consonants, with vowels, with strong and weak forms, verb agreement and placement of modifiers. Pupils must be given maximal opportunity for purposeful, motivated, interesting oral-aural practice, with attentive repetition provided until automatization takes place. The learner must talk more than the teacher if he is to learn effectively. She cannot ask a question in six sentences and have the child answer in one word. He must be given practice in hearing similarities and differences between the sound system, vocabulary and structure of his "native" language and that of the third language, and he must be given much practice in reproducing them.

THIRD—*He must have acquired skill in thinking in the kind of English that he is expected to read.* He must be able to recognize the English words and language patterns as symbols or sound-pictures of things and ideas being recreated by them in his mind's eye. He must be given frequent, attentive practice in relating the words and thought patterns to past experiences and in relating past experiences to them. He must be given frequent, attentive practice in selecting, varying and reorganizing words and thought patterns to express ideas more accurately, effectively and imaginatively. He must have frequent, attentive practice in "hearing and saying" these thought units and language patterns "another way." He must be given practice in seeing similarities and differences between the language forms of his "native" language and those of his third language if he is to learn to think in this second or third language, which he must do, if he is going to be able to read it successfully.

FOURTH—*He must have acquired skill in writing down what he and his group are saying* so that someone not present can "hear" it through reading. Writing should be taught as a process of recording in symbols or pictures of sounds what is said aloud or what is said within the individual as part of his thought process.

The teaching of spelling and handwriting skills should be closely related to the teaching of listening and speaking skills, and each should be used to develop and reinforce power in the other.

FIFTH—*If reading is the outcome of mastery of the four preceding steps in building language power,* it must be recognized that the reading act is a simulated conversation between the writer, who is the absent speaker, and the reader, who is listening with his eyes. The reader does a kind of play-acting by vocalizing inwardly what the writer would be saying orally if he were present. Reading is then a process of "listening" to the written-down talk, reproducing it through inner speech and then deriving meaning, information or enjoyment through the thinking process which relates associations, memory, experiences and imagination to the recorded symbols. The two-way communication process that we call "reading" is at the same time an expression of the total personality. The effectiveness of the reading is, therefore, dependent first and last on *the use of a language as the medium of communication* that is clearly understood and readily reproducible by both parties to the written-down conversation. And again, the earlier in life one starts to learn the new language, the quicker and easier will he learn to read it.

It is important to note that in the case of the environmentally handicapped and foreign background pupils, the teaching and re-teaching of the so-called reading skills *per se*, before or apart from mastery of the four basic steps in the communication process will in most cases, produce only reading failure, with concomitant negative and deleterious effects. To try to teach a child to read a third language which he neither understands nor speaks is wasteful of the best efforts of, and inevitably harmful to, both the learner and the teacher.

When the so-called reading abilities, skills and attitudes are not constructed on a firm foundation of communication power in the language to be read, the environmentally handicapped pupil and the pupil of foreign language background are condemned to a life of despair—in school and out. It is wasteful, too, not to reinforce what the child already knows about listening, speaking, writing and reading in his native language. I believe, therefore, that this child of foreign language background should receive instruction simultaneously in his native language and culture, as well as in English, and that we should capitalize on the many opportunities for transfer of training where there are so many obvious elements of identity in listening, speaking, writing and reading skills in the language known and the language to be learned. This will also have a very important salutory effect on the pupil's morale and self-image. For the same reasons, I believe that the Negro child and others environmentally handicapped should receive specific instruction in the history and culture of their ethnic background. This is completely consistent with the fundamental principles of cultural democracy and of good education. Appropriate steps should be taken to develop functional bilingualism and biculturalism for all children living in our large, multilingual urban communities. This indicates the need for a new, extensive, imaginative program of pre-service and on-the-job training and re-training of teachers and supervisors in urban anthropology, linguistics, psychology and pedagogy of teaching English as a second or third language. There is an urgent need, as well, for extensive experimentation and research and with the help of colleges and universities in improving curriculum, in devising new, dynamic methods and in developing more effective instructional materials. It means, too, far greater involvement of specialists in teaching speech and foreign languages. It also means that such experimentation as the Bilingual Readiness Project in Primary Grades, the various NDEA institutes and fellowship programs should be expanded as rapidly as State, Federal and Foundation funds can be made available.

The teacher or supervisor who would be happy in this—his chosen profession—and who, at the same time, wishes to reside in any large, cosmopolitan multilingual urban community is faced with two choices. He must either learn, largely through colleges and universities, the fundamentals of linguistics and the other rudiments of teaching English as a second or third language. Then he must dedicate his every working hour to helping his environmentally handicapped pupils and pupils of foreign background to gain the precious power of communication through that language and the consequent mastery of reading which is so vital to their well-being and so important to the ultimate destiny of our cities and of our nation. Or, that teacher or supervisor can make the other choice. He can ignore the greatest educational challenge of our times and dream of the dry, bald and sere contentment of old age while commuting each day to and from the little worlds of sameness in homogenized, monolingual suburbia.

I think we are all agreed that the salvation of our way of life and of society itself is dependent on our winning the war against poverty. It is my most carefully considered opinion that the most powerful educational weapon in that struggle is in teaching English as a second language to environmentally handicapped pupils and as a third language to pupils of a foreign language background.

TEACHING THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILD IN NEW YORK CITY

Mary Finocchiaro

The effective and rapid integration of Spanish-speaking children into the full life of the school, the community, and the city has been a continuing concern of educational and social agencies in New York City for the past two decades. It has generally been recognized that special educational provisions are needed for the approximately 200,000 children of Puerto Rican and other Latin American origin in our schools today.

Of these *newcomers* to New York City many never have attended school. Some may have attended school for a few hours a day in a rural area in their country of origin and may be functionally illiterate in Spanish. Some lack fundamental language skills in the English language arts; others lack basic concepts in the curriculum areas offered in our schools. *All* have been uprooted from an environment that differs in many respects from the urban setting to which they have migrated.

The situation may not be radically different for children who were either born in the continental United States or who have lived here for several years. Because of the sense of security which comes from sharing a common language and a common culture, Latin American immigrants, as all other immigrants to the United States before them, have made their homes with relatives and friends in the numerous Spanish-speaking communities which abound in every borough of the city. They have, in most instances, jealously guarded their language and their traditions so that it is not surprising to find children entering our schools with little or no knowledge of the English language. These children cannot be expected to profit from a program designed primarily for continental American children, familar with our language and culture.

At the present time there are about [illegible] children in our schools who are rated C to F on an informal scale of [illegible] ability. Students rated C can express themselves to some extent but speak haltingly and with numerous errors occasioned by native language interferences. The students rated E use English in only a few stereotyped situations; those rated F speak no English.

The number is certainly not overwhelming in terms of our total pupil population, nor is the problem of integrating foreign-speaking groups within the New York City schools unprecedented. Why then has the educational program for Puerto Rican children become the subject of innumerable conferences, surveys, and reports? While I emphasize Puerto Ricans because they constitute the largest group (there are about 180,000 of them in our schools), much of what I will say applies as well to other Latin Americans.

The reasons are complex and varied and mst be examined in the light of our total educational and social philosophy. Whereas, in the past, for example, it was common to speak of the United States as a "melting pot" and of the "assimilation" of new arrivals, today the concept of cultural pluralism has been more widely accepted. In the organization of activities and projects for schools and community, this new attitude points toward the utilization of the cultural and social contributions which Puerto Ricans can and do make. It points also toward the desirability of helping Puerto Ricans maintain their identity and retain their cultural patterns at the same time that they are encouraged to adopt some of the customs needed for making an effective personal and social adjustment to their new community.

Whereas, in the past, higher education was considered the province of the select few, today there is general acceptance of the belief in "education for all the children of all the people." This does not necessarily mean the same education for all the children but rather an educational program geared to individual interests, abilities, and needs. This concept places on the administrator and teacher the responsibility for organizing programs which facilitate individualization of instruction, which provide for various kinds of intra-class and intra-school groupings, and which include remedial programs in all areas. These and many other administrative and teaching procedures are even more necessary for Puerto Rican children if they are to receive the same educational opportunities offered to all children.

Whereas, in the past, emphasis was placed on the teaching of subject matter, today emphasis has shifted to encompass the total development of the individual (his attitudes, interests, knowledge, skills, and habits) for optimum personal-social adjustment. This means taking Puerto Rican children whether they are from an urban or a rural background, whether or not they have had previous schooling, and whether or not they register at the beginning of the semester, and helping them to acquire such knowledge and skills as they need to participate actively in the full life of the school and community and eventually to find their place in the world of work.

Changes in educational and social philosophy have given us an insight into more desirable ways of organizing a school program and of integrating new arrivals. In this respect Puerto Ricans may be considered more fortunate than previous groups of newcomers. With relation to this migration, however, there are unusual factors in the pupil population, in the school situation, and in the community, which have made it difficult to translate into immediate action the results of research findings and of new philosophy. Let us examine briefly some of those factors which have implications for school personnel.

The Puerto Ricans may experience social and vocational discrimination for the first time. As a defense mechanism, they cling to the fact of their Spanish origin. They continue to speak Spanish, and some may even show reluctance to learn English.

Products of a dual culture—Spanish and American—Puerto Ricans have definite ideas about the authority of the head of the household, about the employment of women, about family relationships, about participation of their daughters in after-school programs. Conflicts and misunderstandings arise between parent and child, parent and school, and child and school, which require patient and sympathetic handling by school and community leaders.

Despite valiant efforts of government officials and an increased budgetary allotment, there are still inadequate facilities for children of school age in the Island's schools today. In addition, poverty and other circumstances beyond their control force many children to leave school at the end of the fourth grade. Although there is a compulsory education law in Puerto Rico, it is not generally enforced because of the inadequate facilities and because of lack of personnel. Attendance officers, official letters, lists of rules and regulations common in the New York school situation are therefore very frightening and new to Puerto Rican children and to their parents.

Many teachers in New York City expect Puerto Rican pupils, especially those who have attended school, to speak and understand English immediately upon arrival. They may forget to take into consideration such items as these: the length of formal English study in Puerto Rico; the natural timidity caused by totally different surroundings; the fact that this is the first time these children are using English in an *all-English-speaking* community; the difference in sounds and melody of English spoken in New York City and that learned in Puerto Rico. Although English, as you know, is now taught as a second language in every school in Puerto Rico, the language program has been planned to bring about systematic growth of communication abilities over a *twelve-year period.*

While there has been a universal desire to help ease the difficult period of transition for our most recent arrivals, factors in the New York City school situation itself have militated against the more rapid entrance of pupils into the regular school stream.

Fearing the stigma that might be attached to even a temporary segregation, many principals have been reluctant to place Puerto Rican pupils in homogeneous classes. Moreover, our policy of continuous progress has resulted in classes of pupils with wide ranges of achievement. Within the same class teachers may have to cope with Puerto Rican pupils at varying levels of linguistic ability and with continental American pupils reading at two or three different levels. Because of our policy of placing pupils in classes with their age peers, a Puerto Rican youngster with little or no previous schooling may find himself in an eighth- or ninth-grade regular class.

The practice in many schools of placing all responsibility in the hands of the classroom teacher or of the guidance counselor has been a deterrent to the solution of a problem that is school-wide and city-wide and that demands *cooperative* efforts of all personnel. Joint planning is needed to adapt curricula, to prepare instructional materials at several language-learning levels, to organize suitable experiences, to set up meaningful guidance programs, and to foster desirable home-school-community relations.

The community, too, is responsible for a large share of the difficulty which these newcomers experience. Established residents of the community fear that the newcomers create housing and employment problems. The old and new members of the community fail to accept each other because of the barriers of language. Continental American parents feel that their children are deprived of full educational opportunities because of the time teachers must devote to Puerto Rican children. In addition, many of the agencies best qualified to alleviate community problems have found themselves unprepared to handle the unexpected numbers since mass migrations had not taken place in over two decades.

Many additional problems could be cited, problems created in part by myths that have grown around reasons for the Puerto Rican migration, around numbers of them on relief, around deterioration of neighborhoods or schools because of their presence. The Puerto Ricans, latest group in the long list of migrants to our shores to want to benefit from our tremendous resources and from our concept of democracy, are naturally blamed for many of the ills of schools and community. The Irish, the Germans, the Italians, the Poles, in turn, were looked upon with suspicion before they were integrated into the life of their new communities.

Instead of enumerating more problems at this point, it is more appropriate to underscore the positive manner in which schools, community agencies, and teacher-training institutions are cooperating in order to achieve the fundamental goals of educational programs for Puerto Ricans and other Latin Americans.

What are these goals? The first is to assist them to develop language competency progressively and systematically; the second, to help them enter the regular school stream as quickly as their background (previous schooling, native literacy and ability, age, etc.) allows; the third, to enable them to remain well-integrated individuals as they become adjusted to their new world; the fourth and overriding objective is to help them acquire a positive self-image so that they can develop the confidence and security needed to take advantage of the opportunities in our society for upward mobility.

Modifications of existing programs and imaginative new programs have been introduced at every divisional level of the New York City school system and in many colleges and universities.

Unfortunately there is time at this conference to give only the briefest listing. I would recommend, however, that for more detailed information you write to the New York City Board of Education for a recently issued brochure entitled *Educating Students for Whom English Is a Second Language: Programs, Activities and Services.*

In every Division, specialists in English as a second language have been assigned in schools not only to help the principal in teacher-training activities, but also to teach English to groups of pupils who are either taken out of the regular class for a small part of the school day for this purpose or who are grouped together in the regular classroom for English instruction. In the elementary schools, thirty minutes of special instruction is given daily. In the junior and senior high schools, pupils may have about two hours of intensive training in English.

The Elementary Dviision has also licensed over one hundred teachers familiar with the Spanish language and culture, whose school assignment includes helping to orient children to the school situation, working with Spanish-speaking parents, and helping to sensitize school personnel to special problems of Spanish-speaking children or parents. The Division also sponsors an exchange program with Puerto Rican teachers called Operation Understanding.

The Division of Curriculum Research encourages experimentation and the preparation of materials. It played a large role in the production of the Puerto Rican Study Materials—a series of Resource Units and Teaching Guides. At present, it is completing a section on English as a second language for a Language Arts Bulletin to be issued shortly. It has initiated a project in which science and mathematics are taught in Spanish at the junior high school level. It helps organize workshops of key personnel from Puerto Rico for the purpose of sharing ideas and seeking solutions to common problems.

The Division of Educational Research has translated tests and prepared new ones not only for determining initial placement of these youngsters but also for evaluating their progress. The Division of Attendance has assigned many Spanish-speaking Attendance Officers to their Division to help interpret compulsory attendance laws to Spanish-speaking parents and to stress the importance of regular attendance for admission to secondary schools and colleges.

The Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction serves as a clearing house for materials for children with language difficulties. It makes available to all schools films, tapes, and recordings produced elsewhere. It also produces materials in cooperation with the various Divisions of the New York City Board of Education.

The Division of Human Relations has taken an extremely active role in working with pupils, school and community personnel, and social agencies. Two of its goals are to promote a more positive self-image in students and to assist teachers in gaining more knowledge about the children and their parents.

The Bureaus of Child Guidance, Vocational Guidance, In-Service Training, Libraries, and School Lunches—in sum—all the bureaus and divisions of the school system have formulated programs to guide youngsters, to train teachers, and to interpret the school program to Puerto Rican and continental American parents in order to help the newcomers hurdle the barriers which an unfamiliar language and different mores create.

The colleges, too, are contributing to this total effort by providing pre-service and in-service training for teachers, by organizing institutes and workshops for teachers, and by working with the secondary schools in discovering youngsters with college potential.

Despite everyone's willingness, however, there still exist a number of problems and controversial issues to which, it is hoped, frequent and continuous dialogues among those concerned and systematic research will provide an answer. (A giant step in this direction was taken last year in the formation of ACTESOL[1] under Superintendent John King.) Questions which need to be discussed are these:

1. Should we continue to place pupils, even those with no previous schooling, with their age peers?
2. Should we ask all teachers to learn some Spanish?
3. Should a separate license be issued for teachers of linguistically handicapped children?

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[1] Advisory Committee on Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

4. What are our responsibilities to children who come to school at the age of sixteen with little schooling and who may remain in our schools for only a year or two?
5. What standards for placement, for inter-class promotion, and for graduation can be devised which will work no injustice on Puerto Ricans and which will satisfy continental parents and children?
6. How can schools, social agencies, and religious agencies work together to bring about a mutually accepting relationship between old and new members of the school and community?

There may never be definitive answers to these questions *nor should there be*. Education is a constantly evolving process. The integration of people into a society does not take place overnight.

I am confident, however, that our continued, realistic approach to the problem and our awareness that an education program for linguistically handicapped pupils includes more—much more—than teaching English as a second language will guide us in giving these youngsters the opportunities for education and for full participation in our society to which all children are entitled.

TRAINING AND PREPARATION OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE: THREE APPROACHES TO IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Grace Stuart Nutley

A primary educational need presenting a major challenge throughout the United States today is adequate in-service training in the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages. Actually the problems of TESOL are not really new nor confined to the U.S., but they have become more pressing as the need for communication, national and world-wide, has become more apparent and English has assumed an increasingly important role as an international language.

The term "in-service training" is a peculiarly American phrase used to express the concept of continuing education. For example, I have not heard the phrase used in Asia, though many Asian countries, out of necessity, have developed some interesting in-service programs. Inadequate pre-service training and a frightening increase in pupil enrollment since World War II have confronted these countries with a problem demanding immediate action.

In India, for example, when the constitution decreed in 1950 that English should be the official language of the government until 1965 (when it was expected that Hindi would have become sufficiently widespread to replace English), the sudden need for English teachers was stupendous. Already the use of English and the teaching of English had declined in the brief absence of the British. The problem was formidable, and it was obvious that strong measures must be taken. It was to the British, not the Americans, that the Indians turned for help. A contract was given the British Information Council to provide 100,000 English teachers within five years. Of course, that was not possible. But facing this formidable challenge, an Englishman, head of the education program for the British Council in Madras, developed an exciting new in-service program called Operation Snowball.

Thirty teachers from thirty different districts in South Asia were selected on the basis of their classroom effectiveness and their flexibility to attend a four-week intensive institute in Madras. No credits were given. They met five days a week, eight hours a day. They were housed on a college campus, had their meals together, and in the evenings saw a film, a musical program, or a dramatic skit. The daily program was highly concentrated and practical. Methods, techniques, educational psychology, and applied linguistics occupied the first two hours. Each morning, a class from the near-by elementary school came to the institute for demonstration teaching. All classes were held outdoors, a delightful innovation for a Westerner! The director of the institute demonstrated a pattern or drill for thirty minutes. Then the pupils were re-grouped in units of ten or fewer, and the participants practiced the same technique they had observed. The afternoon sessions included a kind of seminar discussion of the practice teaching and another demonstration class which followed the same procedure of the morning. Peer teaching was often introduced in the afternoon seminars. The main emphasis was on methods and techniques.

The teachers returned to their schools at the end of the four-week period and began to introduce the methods they had learned in their classroom. Sometime during the next six weeks a staff member of the British Council came to observe the work of each participant, spending from three to five days in his school to be sure he was using his institute experience fruitfully. After six weeks' experience in their own classrooms, some of it under observation, each of the original participants organized an institute of thirty teachers in his own area and repeated the course given in Madras. The British Council supplied the materials and syllabi for these institutes and kept a close check on the work. Thus the "operation snowballed"! Not all participants were equally effective, of course, and the goal of 100,000 was not achieved. But much better teaching in an ever widening area was achieved, and the enthusiasm and professional pride in their work was exciting to see. The teachers were involved; it was their work and their responsibility. Everywhere I went in South India in 1959 and 1960, I saw evidence of some professional reading, concern about materials, and some exciting attempts in small rural schools to produce drills and free conversation based on local situations. Operation Snowball was the beginning of establishing teacher rapport, and the requests for two- and three-day institutes increased dramatically as the influence of Operation Snowball spread: institutes not for credit, not for increment, not for promotion, but institutes to help teachers do a better job and let them get acquainted professionally so they could share problems and experience. These were not the old fashioned institutes but the modern concept of workshops—cooperative handling of problems.

A second approach to in-service education is just developing in Puerto Rico through the creation of special centers for training teachers of English. The plan will ultimately be concerned with two projects: teaching training and the use of audio-visual materials for classroom use. The first project has already started. Two teacher-training centers have been established, one at Catholic University in Ponce and the other at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras. These centers will provide an intensive program in English and areas related to the teaching of English in order to prepare special teachers of English for the elementary schools. The teachers who receive this special training will be used in rural or semi-rural areas where teacher preparation is often below the level of urban areas and where students have great cultural limitations. By being provided special training in the use of new textbooks and audio-visual materials these teachers will narrow the gap between the command of English of children in rural and urban areas.

The training centers operate on a semester basis and began in January, 1966. Thirty teachers are being trained at each center. Sixty substitute teachers have been appointed to cover the positions held by the teacher trainees. The program of study includes five courses, each carrying three college credits: communication arts, applied linguistics, children's literature, preparation and use of audio-visual materials, and improvement in reading, including laboratory work. This program is designed to improve the teachers' command of English and to give new procedures for teaching ESL. It does not include a course in methodology as it is believed that each of the courses listed should provide new insight into the problem of language teaching. If the two centers work effectively during the trial period, the number of training centers for English teachers will be expanded to include one for each of the regions. This proposal and program was developed by Dr. Adela Mendez, Director of the English Section of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico.

A third approach which is commanding much interest at the moment is the practice-centered program in the field of teacher training at the newly created Stanford Center for Research and Development. Professor Robert Politzer notes that the importance accorded practice teaching, the emphasis on clinical experience, and the rise of internship programs all testify that practice is becoming the core of the entire training program. So we note a shift in emphasis in pre-professional teacher training. It seems to me this trend has significance for in-service training as well. How many teachers of two or five or more years experience still feel uncertain in introducing new techniques in ESL? How many teachers traditionally trained to teach English to the native English-speaking child stumble when confronted with the non-English-speaking pupil? Many of their problems would be minimized, if not entirely solved, if they had, once again, the experience of practice teaching. And perhaps the micro-teaching or spot teaching on a specific pattern or drill would be most useful to them.

I do not believe the public school classroom should be used for this kind of practice teaching. Immediate criticism or correction is embarrassing to both the trainee and the supervisor, and interrupts classroom continuity. This is especially difficult for the experienced teacher. At the Stanford Center, which is mainly concerned at present with pre-professional training, selected pupils are engaged (and paid) to serve as practice classes. Thus the focus is primarily on the trainee and not divided between the trainee and the pupils.

One may object that such a situation is not life-like—is not a real class situation. True, and neither is a pool like the ocean. But the person who has learned the strokes and technique of swimming in a placid pool will stand a fairly good chance of taking care of himself in the turbulent waters of the Atlantic. And for the in-service training program the small controlled practice class has special advantages. The teacher taking in-service training knows what a classroom is like. What he needs to know is how to handle ESL methods and techniques effectively, and this requires practice, repeated practice, under supervision. The practice-centered program adapted to in-service training will focus on the trainee's role as a teacher, not as a student. Too often we forget that theory can come from practice as well as practice from theory.

Actually this approach has been used abroad for some time. Overseas school systems have been forced to use the most practical means of training the greatest number of English teachers possible in the shortest time. Teachers meet in classes and practice drills; they practice intonation; they are shown how sounds are produced and how to aid their pupils in sound production. They separate into groups and practice with each other under supervision. They watch master teachers demonstrate, then return to their groups and try to reproduce the same lesson. Only after they have become fairly sure of what they are to do and how to do it, do they practice in the classroom.

In-service training is far broader than the three approaches which I have described indicate. And many changes have developed in the more than a century of in-service education. From the main purpose for which it was conceived in the nineteenth century, namely of correcting teaching deficiencies through teachers' institutes, it moved on to teacher improvement through supervision. But ideas about supervision have changed, too, and the supervisor is now viewed as a guide and counselor to teachers rather than a director of activities. Consequently, by 1940, workshops had become popular for in-service education. Today the emphasis is on cooperative problem-solving, the involvement of all working together, as the best means of promoting the professional growth of the total school staff. In-service education in the United States has been characterized as "A Design for Change."[1] This basic philosophy is evident in the three approaches just discussed.

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[1] Herman G. Richey, "Growth of the Modern Conception of In-Service Education," *In-Service Education,* National Soociety for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 35–65.

III. Some Key Concepts and Current Concerns

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WHAT TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE LANGUAGE

Ralph B. Long

I suppose it is natural that the broadest programs in English as a second language should be found where English is a second language for the general population and at the same time is seriously studied. Puerto Rico is such a place. Almost everywhere the usual spoken language is Spanish, and though it would be hard (or impossible) to get along in post offices, businesses of many kinds, and education without being able to read English, the dominant written language is Spanish, pretty generally too. Yet English is a required subject, alongside Spanish, from the beginning grades through the second year of college or university.

In such a situation, English as a second language is as broad as what we simply call "English" in the English-speaking States. Ideally, teachers of English in Puerto Rico would know the same things that, ideally, teachers of English at corresponding levels in the States would know—and some other things too. At the University of Puerto Rico we maintain courses in writing, speech, English linguistics, and British and American literature from the beginnings until the present time, much as university departments of English do in the States. Our best students are genuinely first-rate, and we want to give them first-rate courses, from the freshman level through the M.A. level. We get some students from the English-speaking States too, especially at the M.A. level: it is very wise for English-speaking people seriously interested in teaching English as a second language to get some of their training where English really is a second language.

It should not be necessary for advanced programs in English as a second language to be inferior in quality to advanced programs in English where English is the home language. In English linguistics the best work has very often come out of English as a second language—such grammars as Palmer's, Jespersen's, and Poutsma's are examples—and in British and American literature such men as Conrad and Nabokov have demonstrated that it is not necessary to be a native speaker of English to write the language brilliantly. English is a second language in Puerto Rico: what this should mean, and in part does mean, is that the approach, not the content of the courses, is different from that usual where English is dominant. I myself use the same materials in teaching English grammar in Puerto Rico as I have used within the past two years in teaching it in Tennessee, Florida, and New York: the difference is that in Puerto Rico I constantly take into account what Spanish does with corresponding constructions. Those who teach writing courses and speech courses have much greater reason to take Spanish into account, of course: where two languages are spoken and written, they will inevitably influence each other. Those who teach courses in literature find inevitably that differences in culture patterns, and in attitudes, must be kept in mind; and of course there are term papers, essay-type examinations, and theses to be read.

Clearly all teachers of English as a second language—wherever they teach, and at whatever level—should have some understanding of their students' ways of thinking and reacting. They should know something of their students' cultural heritage, and of the heritage of the English-speaking States as well. When such matters come up, they should be able to discuss things as delicate as United States foreign policy intelligently—and in good temper and good taste. Clearly all teachers of English as a second language should know a good deal about their students' home language, or languages. Ideally, in a place like Puerto Rico they would be perfect bilinguals—if we can use the word *perfect* of anyone's use of two languages, or even of one language—but this ideal goal is not likely to be achieved until ideal goals for such things as salaries are also achieved.

And the teacher of English as a second language needs a very considerable knowledge of the phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and history of the language he is teaching, wherever he teaches, and at whatever level.

I

It is desirable to give careful consideration to the question of what kind of phonological analysis of contemporary American English teachers of English as a second language should master. Professor Sledd is reported to have said at a recent conference on English phonology that the Trager-Smith analysis is dead and the Chomsky-Halle analysis is still unborn. In the Center for Applied Linguistics' *The Sounds of English and Spanish* (1965), Professors Stockwell and Bowen elect to follow the Trager-Smith analysis. At one point they actually out-Tragersmith Professors Trager and Smith: they manage to get a barred *i* into all unstressed syllables, writing barred *i* alone for the unstressed vowel sound of *sofa,* barred *i* followed by *y* for the unstressed vowel sound or sounds of *silly* and *attic,* and barred *i* followed by *w* for the unstressed vowel sound of *virtue*—and so giving the unstressed vowel sounds of *silly, attic,* and *virtue* the kind of two-symbol representation that is usually reserved for dipththongs. In a footnote they admit that Professor Bolinger has shown the Trager-Smith treatment of pitch, stress, and juncture to be untenable; but they follow the Trager-Smith analysis here too, not because it is the best available but, they tell us, because it is found in "texts on descriptive linguistics that teachers are likely to consult."

What kind of analysis of English phonology should teachers of English as a second language learn under existing circumstances? To begin with, they should learn the vowel-and-consonant analysis followed in the Kenyon-Knott *Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* and in a considerable number of textbooks. Certainly this analysis is far better established than the Trager-Smith analysis has any chance of becoming, and certainly it is at least as defensible. As for intonation, Professor Bolinger's *Forms of English* (1965) is at last available. The analysis presented is much simpler than the Trager-Smith analysis, and it is accompanied by a large amount of convincing material. Back in the fifties we teachers of English as a second language were expected to distinguish the four pitches, four stresses, and four junctures of Trager-Smith phonology as sharply as we distinguished the four vowel sounds of *pit, pet, pat,* and *pot;* and the impressively sponsored Structural *El Inglés Hablado* asked that we perform such feats as hearing a plus juncture in *Jack's* when *Jack's* was a merged equivalent of *Jack is* or *Jack has* but not when *Jack's* was simply a possessive. We can relax now and can learn a great deal more about intonation from Professor Bolinger, who has long cultivated the very uncommon virtue of common sense.

Actually pronunciation is learned best by small children, without analysis. Everyone who has ever taken a small child abroad knows this. If we want second languages pronounced well, we should do everything we can to see that small children are exposed to them under favorable circumstances. What Professor Samuel A. Kirk says, in the NCTE's excellent *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged* (1965), of the learning of standard English by children whose home language is nonstandard is true also of the learning of second languages: it is important to start very early, even earlier than the kindergarten years when possible, since less and less can be done with pronunciation as children grow older. My own feeling about the teaching of English in Puerto Rico has long been that what is needed most is an effective program in the lower grades—or even earlier, if that is possible. Professor Stevick is right, I believe, when he says in *Helping People Learn English* (1955) that "the first, best, and perhaps last chance to learn an accurate pronunciation" comes when the language is first attacked. Professors Eriksson, Forest, and Mulhauser are right when they say in *Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools* (1964) that at this point the teacher's pronunciation should be "impeccable." In Puerto Rico, the teachers whose pronunciation of English is worst, and whose pleasure in using the language is least, usually teach English in the lower grades. Here is where genuinely new ways of teaching are desperately needed. There should be long series of short dramatic films, with sound tracks, for teaching small children first to hear and then to pronounce English. These films should have the qualities of strong interest that the best children's books have: they should be works of dramatic art, and not merely vehicles for employing particular words and particular patterns of linguistic structure. Their first cost would be very high, but they could be used year after year, all over the hemisphere. Government and foundation support should be given, by all means. It is of first importance that good pronunciation and feelings of confidence in speaking English be acquired very young.

Certainly it is of first importance that students of English as a second language be got to feel comfortable speaking the language. If they cannot speak it comfortably, they will avoid English-speaking people. When students reach adolescence without acquiring good pronunciation, it is highly unlikely that their pronunciation will ever be like that of native speakers. In this situation their teachers should settle gladly for less than perfection—even for a great deal less than perfection—and should do nothing to undermine such confidence as their students have. Help with pronunciation should be available for those who want it: every teacher of English as a second language should know enough about the phonology of the language to help intelligently, and of course it is desirable that such things as tape recorders be available. But students should not be pushed too hard in this matter. Programs in second languages that stress perfect pronunciation have driven many excellent people out in recent years. In Puerto Rico, if we insisted that even our English majors, and our teachers of English at any level, be wholly without Spanish accent we would lose many of our best people and would damage the position of English on the island seriously. If we want really excellent pronunciation—and I am sure that we do—we will simply have to develop really imaginative programs for small children. This is our first and greatest need in English as a second language.

II

The teacher of English as a second language needs to know a good deal about English phonology, but he needs to know a great deal more about English grammar. Whether he actually teaches grammar or not, the obvious practical reason that he needs to know grammar is the same as the reason he needs to know phonology: his students are pretty certain to have trouble with it, and at points where native speakers do not often have trouble. Thus his students will produce such easily misunderstood spoken sentences as *I use to eat lunch at home,* where *use* is intended as a present-tense form and not as the accepted past, and *my mother loves your sons,* where *your sons* is intended to mean what *her children* means, but the patterns of use of Spanish possessives and plurals have made trouble. And grammatical difficulties affect written English much more commonly than phonological difficulties do. We must teach written English as well as spoken: let us be very clear about that. I doubt that there is any place in the world where we can afford to teach students to be illiterate in English. We can, and should, "correct errors" on paper where we should "leave the language alone," to borrow a phrase from the title of Professor Hall's book, when the same matters come up in spoken English. The ego is not as involved in writing as it is in speech: it is as hard to write well as it is to play the violin well, and we all know this and therefore accept criticism with relatively little unhappiness. Professor Huebener is right when he says, in *How to Teach Foreign Languages Effectively* (1965), that composition is "one of the most effective forms of language learning."

The teacher of English as a second language will not find what he needs to know about English grammar (or punctuation, or spelling) in the Structural grammars that have appeared since 1951 or in the Transformational grammars that have appeared since 1957. It is entirely true of Structural grammar, as Professor Gleason says in his *Linguistics and English Grammar* (1965), that it remains a "skeleton." Transformational grammar is better: transformationalists have dug into the problems of English sentence structure with energy and intelligence, and have produced a number of monographs of genuine importance. But as Professor Gleason says, the Transformationalists have not yet produced even "a very full outline." Anyone who makes a careful comparative analysis of the best traditional grammars of the past two or three decades, the best Structural grammars, and the best Transformational grammars will see at once that it is the traditional grammars that offer most help with specific problems in English grammar that come up in English as a second language both when English is spoken and whenever any writing is done.

Yet traditional grammar has been, in effect, outlawed in American work in English as a second language almost everywhere. Fulbright lecturers in English language have had to have Structural backgrounds, as we were told very candidly in the *Linguistic Reporter* a few years ago. The USIA lists of books approved for use in binational centers abroad have been disgracefully sectarian. Neither traditional grammars nor traditional grammarians have had a chance: the Structuralist attack on the tradition and those who refuse to break with it decisively has been quite ruthless.

The Center for Applied Linguistics' *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish* (1965) shows the effects of a curious shift made necessary by the fact that since 1957 not the Structuralists but the Transformationalists have dominated both the national meetings concerned with linguistic theory and the publications while the Structuralists remain very powerful in the organizations, including TESOL, and in the government agencies. Professors Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin's *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish* is professedly Transformational, not Structural, in point of view. At the same time terminology, and even analysis, developed by members of the Structural leadership is incorporated. Thus the phrasal verb form *will have been speaking* is described as a "non-past" marked for "subsequence," "relevant anteriority," and "currency," renouncing the traditional terms "present," "future," "perfect," and "progressive"; and such forms as *talks* are called "gender-marked forms," not third persons singular. Actually *The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish* is not very noticeably Transformational. The chemical-looking formulas and the space-wasting untypable "trees," hallmarks of Transformational grammar, are almost completely absent; and at one point the very efficient broken-line typable diagrams developed by Professor Forsman a decade ago are used, in rudimentary form, instead.

If we must have, in English as a second language, a theory-based grammar that is both dramatically distinct from the school grammar and relatively defensible, at the moment it can only be Transformational grammar—though a few years from now, as Professor Gleason obviously thinks, Stratificational grammar may seem preferable. The underlying theory of Structural grammar is clearly indefensible: it is impossible to base an adequate grammar in a phonology, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, in the behavior of a badly defined group of function words, wrongly said to "have little or no lexical meaning of their own." Certainly every teacher of English as a second language who is involved in teaching grammar should work through at least one or two Transformational grammars.

Professor Thomas's *Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English* (1965) is probably the best book for teachers of English as a second language to read as their first taste of Transformational grammar. It should be read critically, of course; it is not wise to substitute faith for reason in this field. Since the kind of thing it represents is being very effectively championed nowadays, it is appropriate, I believe, that I make a few comments on the book here.

Professor Thomas's bibliography is significant. There is a very full listing of the major Transformational publications of the past nine years. The major Structural publications of the past sixteen years are poorly represented, and only one traditional grammar is listed—Jespersen's *Essentials of English Grammar,* which was published a comfortable thirty-odd years ago. In the text proper there is frequent acknowledgement of indebtedness to Transformational analysts and little evidence of indebtedness to anyone else. The book is a party-line book as truly as the Structural grammars of the fifties were.

As a true Transformational grammar, Professor Thomas's book is full of formulas. Professor Thomas expresses special satisfaction with a formula that "in conjunction with the flip-flop transformation," he maintains, "will generate all the tenses of the active voice, indicative mode." "This formula," he says, "perhaps more than any other, shows the advantages of transformational grammar over all others." The formula is as follows: *Tn* (*Modal*) (*have* + *en*) (*be* + *ing*) *MV*. Here *Tn* represents compulsory indication of present or past tense; *Modal* in parentheses represents possible occurrence of a form of *can, may, shall, will,* or *must*; *have* + *en* represents possible occurrence of the perfect auxiliary *have* followed by a past participle; *be* + *ing* represents possible occurrence of the progressive auxiliary *be* followed by an *ing* form; and *MV* represents the verb whose forms are being represented.

The shortest forms represented by the formula are such forms as *bake*; the longest forms represented are such forms as *could have been baking.* Professor Thomas considers that English has "sixteen active tenses," but his symbol *Tn* represents only present and past. When tense is placed first in the sequence, the basic order of the parts of English verb forms is altered, and what Professor Thomas calls the "flip-flop transformation" is necessary to get the indication of past-or-present into its common positions, as in *baked* and *had been baking.* The formula ignores person-and-number distinctions, and it gives no representation to phrasal forms made with *do,* such as the *did say* of apologetic *I suppose I did say the wrong thing.* The formula gives no indication of the fact that a number of our commonest verbs inflect irregularly, so that, for example, the pasts of *bake, break, make* and *take* are dissimilar in form. It gives no indication of the fact that some verbs ordinarily do not form progressives—so that *is owning* and *is belonging,* for example, are not likely to occur. The formula achieves simplicity, then, by ignoring many of the pertinent phenomena.

I cannot share Professor Thomas's enthusiasm for his formula. I cannot at all see that it has the quality of "explicitness" that Transformational grammar values so highly. Professor Thomas says of the "trees" in which Transformationalists like to line up their formulas, that "only the most advanced students" can be taught to construct them. I myself find the formulas more troublesome than the trees. Like the elaborate Trager-Smith phonemic transcriptions of, say, the uncompromising *El Inglés Hablado,* for me the Transformational formulas stand in the way of what is to be communicated: I have to put them into words, and I would prefer to have their content presented in words in the first place. And I would say that this content is only a beginning. Certainly in English as a second language we do not want students who lack the native speaker's knowledge of the language to think that such forms as *shall have been making,* or even *can have been making,* are usable as freely as such forms as *have been making*—or that the perfect (*have* + *en*) components in *I may have damaged your car* and in *otherwise I might have damaged your car* have essentially the same force. A grammar that merely indicates that certain forms exist, without attempting to describe the uses to which they are put, has simply not got very far.

I repeat that I regard Transformational grammar as greatly preferable to Structural. I welcomed the appearance of Professor Harris's epochal article, "Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure," in *Language* in 1957 and of Professor Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* in the same year. As I wrote in 1958 in *Proceedings of the 1958 Conference on Problems of Linguistic Analysis in English,* I am glad to see good grammatical analysis in any format. The monographs of such people as Professors Lees and Klima strike me as truly first-rate; Professor Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965) is a recent volume of importance. But the Transformational format and terminology have seemed pedagogically unwise all along, and I would say that the emergence of a strongly sectarian spirit among the Transformationalists—noticeably like the strongly sectarian spirit the Structuralists of a decade ago displayed—is damaging Transformational analysis also. Such textbook makers as Professor Thomas would be wise to take the best traditional analyses into account at every point and not rely so exclusively on the work of other Transformationalists. The strict party-line grammars, both Transformational and Structural, are not only strikingly incomplete but also strikingly indefensible at entirely too many points.

In English as a second language we should ask again and again why nonsectarian pragmatic traditional grammars, and grammarians, must be outlawed. And we should ask whether in Hispanic America, where the usual home language is itself a modern form of Latin, it is really desirable to go out of our way to diverge from the terminology and analysis of what is often contemptuously dismissed as "Latin" grammar in English. Thus when we are dealing with people who are accustomed to calling such verb forms as *habla* third persons singular, why should we insist on calling such corresponding English forms as *talks* "gender-marked" forms? This is like trying to rename Puerto Rico or New York. And what shall we say of *am* and *was* if we rule out talk about person and number in English? These are important forms—triply important, indeed, because of their use as auxiliaries marking both passive voice and progressive aspect. And why should we want to derive the verb form *be* of *be here by ten* from the phrasal form *will be* of *you will be here by ten,* instead of relating it to the *be* of *I suggest that you be here by ten* as would be done in the same situation in Spanish and is more defensible in English?

During the long period of almost-universal Structural control of American work in English as a second language, attention to grammar in elementary programs in the field has been held to be fundamentally undesirable. Language learning has been regarded as essentially a matter of forming habits, not a matter of coming to understand a code or a set of structures analytically. Pattern practice without analysis is a powerfully supported anti-grammar, and has been given a central position in some programs. This has gone on for many years now, and it is understatement to say that pattern practice without explanation has proved disappointing. The whole intellectual position of the habit formers has been effectively attacked too: for example, in Professor Carroll's paper in the May, 1965, issue of the *Modern Language Journal*, in which the underlying psychology of the anti-analysis faction is shown to be in conflict with what psychologists know about the learning process. In this paper Professor Carroll makes four points of fundamental importance. It is known, he says, (1) that "the more meaningful the material to be learned, the greater the facility in learning and retention"; (2) that "materials presented visually are more easily learned than comparable materials presented aurally"; (3) that conscious attention to the critical features involved in learning a skill facilitates learning the skill; and (4) that the more kinds of associations we make for any item to be learned, the better. The "more or less 'official' theory of the reform movement in foreign language teaching in the United States" is "ripe for major revision," Professor Carroll says. The truth seems to be that though simple spoken language is learned best by small children unanalytically, written language is a very different matter—and that actually even spoken language of varieties Professor Joos calls "mature" is not mastered by the child's techniques. There is a strong case for teaching systematic grammar bit by bit, without letting it assume central importance, in elementary programs. But even where grammar is not taught in elementary courses, teachers need to have a great deal of very specific information about it.

III

I have spoken at some length of the teacher's need to know the phonology and the grammar of the language he is teaching. He should also know a good deal about the vocabulary and the history. Structuralists have often discouraged attention to vocabulary in elementary courses. In their very influential textbooks for introductory courses in general linguistics, both Professor Gleason and Professor Hockett discourage teaching vocabulary, and their advice has been echoed in such organs as the USIA's *English Teaching Forum*. But every teacher of English as a second language knows the fundamental importance, and the extreme complexity, of vocabulary. I was disconcerted, not long ago, to discover that excellent Puerto Rican English majors in my senior class in the grammar of modern English were assuming that the *support* of grammatically interesting *he has a wife to support* and *he has a wife to support him* means essentially what *put up with* means. At about the same time one of our English teachers who had done a degree on the continent told me that where she had lived, the heating arrangements had been so bad that she had felt certain that sooner or later her friends would come in and find her "intoxicated." Words should be studied, at all levels. History is important too: like people, languages cannot escape their pasts. Teachers of English as a second language should certainly have worked through a solid history of the language.

We are well along in the sixties now, and there is no reason for us to pretend, in English as a second language, that our problems were solved for us in the forties and early fifties. We have listened too uncritically to the anthropological general linguists who, as Professor Moulton says, are "interested primarily in speech, equally in all languages." "Language learning is noise making," we have been told. "After the English-speaking child goes to school, we teach him *about* English, although we call it English teaching," the homily has continued—not always in these words, which I am quoting from the USIA's *English Teaching Forum.* Yet we must teach people to read English. And to write it: business and government alike want people able to write clear and effective English in many places where English is a second language. And it remains true that we have not proved even yet that we can teach simple spoken English as well as small children can learn it without teaching.

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AND THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

J. Donald Bowen

Nobody questions the assumption that a language teacher should be well informed about the language he teaches. Similar information about the first language of his students has also been considered important for the teacher, though this assumption has sometimes been a tacit one. There is no doubt that teachers have brought these two kinds of information together, comparing items from the structure of the background language spoken by the students with similar items from the target language presented in the classroom. Nor does anyone doubt that these comparisons have been useful in understanding and meeting the specific needs of students struggling to master the patterns and structures of a new language.

But making these assumptions explicit was a contribution of descriptive linguistics, which has developed contrastive analysis as a technique whereby two languages can be systematically compared on all levels of their structures. Contrastive analysis has organized the comparison of languages, has sharpened the focus and perspective of the resulting descriptive statements so they can be truly useful to the language teacher, who has not always been convinced that he needed the linguist's help.

The language teacher has been tempted to suspect that there is really nothing to learn from contrastive analysis that he didn't already know, that the linguistic analyst was only using the obscurity of technical vocabulary to say things that are common knowledge in every classroom. Two reasons can be cited for this skeptical attitude: (1) much that has been offered as studies in contrastive analysis has been quite superficial, and (2) when the subject is discussed in professional meetings, there is never time to go deeply into comparisons, so simple examples are cited. Thus the teacher who has been told that Latin American students have trouble with the English sounds *theta* and *ethe* because they are a new experience is likely to wonder if he really needs a descriptive linguist to tell him something he has observed in every English class he has taught to students from south of the border.

The fact is that contrastive information about two languages can exist quite independently of any particular scholarly discipline, and two languages in contact provide an excellent opportunity to observe the stresses and pressures one applies to the other. The language teacher has been in an advantageous position to observe this contact, and he has gathered a large stock of useful information. Contrastive analysis *per se* adds nothing to the data; it is merely a technique for organizing the facts of structural congruence between two language systems. If it has anything to recommend it as a special technique, it is that it provides an organized, systematized approach to a very complex mass of data: the items and patterns of two language systems. Contrastive analysis should provide focus and perspective, which can be very useful to the language teacher who wishes to improve his competence and efficiency.

Items of contrastive information are not hard to come by. In a language classroom they are unavoidable, even after just a few minutes of the first class period. But it should be kept clearly in mind that contrastive analysis, including the formal kind done with scientific rigor, is not a method for teaching the skills of communication in a second language. It provides no hint of *how* to teach—just *what*. The determination of methods and techniques for presenting, drilling, internalizing the rules of identification and production are another responsibility of the teacher, one the linguist has no particular competence in. Successful cooperation between analyst and teacher depends very much on both realizing where their interests touch and where their responsibilities lie.

Much has been spoken and written about the contributions, potential and real, of contrastive analysis to language teaching. It has been claimed that learning problems can be more specifically defined, that the importance of certain deceptively "simple" teaching problems can be underlined and an adequate amount of emphasis can be planned, that teaching efficiency can be increased by observing which points need early attention and/or special emphasis, that errors can be anticipated early and prevented, so that the need for later remedial work can be minimized, that the detailed knowledge of a systematic comparison will give the teacher added confidence as he faces his class. All of these claims can be true, but none has the certainty of death or taxes.

I would summarize all the advantages attributed to contrastive analysis by saying that it can increase the rate of gaining useful experience. That is to say, a person with relevant contrastive information, other things being equal, can become a good language teacher in a shorter period of time than a person without such information. For this reason a certain amount of familiarity with the methods and the results of contrastive analysis should be included in a teacher education program and should if possible precede the practice teaching or intern-training component of that program. The theoretical background of contrastive information can then be observed and tested in a real-life situation.

One generalization about contrastive analysis needs to be made. Since the descriptions of two languages are to be compared to determine points and areas of similarity and difference, the two independent comparisons need to be compatible. That is, they should be made in the same descriptive frame of reference—as nearly as the structures of the two languages will permit. It is quite possible to describe any language in more than one way, on the basis of more than one linguistic model. It is important that the same model be used in the description of any two languages to be compared; otherwise differences in conceptualization may be difficult to distinguish from differences in language systems.

One claim for contrastive analysis is that it specifies individual pieces of data and then integrates them into structurally meaningful patterns. To see an example of this let's examine a problem of a morphological construction in English and Spanish as it is affected by phonotactic rules. The problem is the formation of noun plurals. The two languages have much in common: both have number as a major class category, with singular specified as one and plural as two or more; both have a regular formation with a sibilant suffix added to a noun stem; and both use a filler vowel to avoid nonpermitted consonant sequences otherwise generated by the rule of suffix placement. In addition, both languages have somewhat confusing traditional explanations for what takes place.

Spanish forms the plural of its nouns (and adjectives) by adding the phoneme /s/ as a suffix. When this addition produces a sequence of sounds in conflict with the phonotactic rules of Spanish syllable formation, the /s/ enters a separate syllable which is vocalized by the neutral filler vowel /e/. This happens whenever the noun ends in a consonant or a semivowel, so that we have pairs like *pan-panes, par-pares, vez-veces, sol-soles, ley-leyes,* etc. This *does* not quite exhaust the possibilities, since we also have to account for such pairs as *rubí-rubíes, lunes-lunes,* but these are relatively minor patterns that we can treat as irregular.

English forms the plural of its nouns by adding the phoneme /z/ as a suffix. When this addition produces a sequence of sounds in conflict with the phonotactic rules of English syllable formation, one of two adjustments is made: first, the /z/ may enter a separate syllable, which is vocalized by the English neutral filler vowel /ə/. This happens whenever the noun ends in a sibilant, "shibilant," or affricate, so that we have pairs like *bus-buses, dish-dishes, church-churches,* etc. Second, the /z/ may be devoiced, since English does not permit /z/ after a voiceless consonant in the same syllable. This produces pairs like *lip-lips, cat-cats, sack-sacks,* etc. English also has a limited number of minor patterns that can be called irregular.

It will be noted that both Spanish and English may use an /s/ as a plural suffix. There is no useful carry-over in either direction, however. Each language disallows /s/ where the other uses it. The fact that /s/ and /z/ are differentiated by only one distinctive feature, voicing, and that they are allophonically related in Spanish, as well as the fact that final /z/ at a phrase boundary is rapidly devoiced in English and is distinguished primarily by its effect of lengthening the preceding vowel means that English speakers can expect some trouble internalizing the Spanish pattern and that Spanish speakers will find the English pattern extremely difficult. The common use and frequent occurrence of plural formations in both languages further underline the importance of the teaching problem.

The element in this description of plural noun formations that may have been new is the concept of the neutral vowel. We are used to thinking of the English schwa as in some sense neutral, but Spanish is usually considered not to have a neutral vowel, since it has no schwa. But Spanish does have a neutral vowel which it uses frequently, as, for example, when the problem to be solved is the avoidance of a non-permitted sequence of sounds. It appears at the beginning of words like *estar* and *escuela,* developed from Latin *stare* and *scola.* For a similar reason it is found as the initial sound of the verb form *es,* though not needed and not used on *somos.* It is regularly added to new loan words such as *estandard, esnobismo, estalinista,* where the pattern of the loan was in conflict with Spanish syllable structure. It is preserved as a final vowel in *este,* where it functions to maintain sound sequence patterns. Furthermore, the /e/ sound is used as a fumble word by the Spanish speaker as he attempts to express an idea with the most appropriate lexical item, in precisely the same circumstance that the English speaker produces his schwa. And finally, Spanish *eh?* matches English *huh?* as a question tag in informal speech.

If in teaching Spanish to English speakers we could somehow impress the use of /e/ as the neutral vowel, we could hope to avoid the massive transfer of schwa to thousands of unaccented syllables where it doesn't belong. Conversely if we could teach the English neutral vowel /ə/ to Spanish speakers, we could hope to solve the enormous problem of accurately producing weak-stressed syllables in English. The patterns suggest an integrated approach, but only an appreciation of what these diverse examples have in common can equip a teacher to deal with the basic concept of a neutral vocalic sound as a syllable filler.

There are other specific kinds of understanding that can help a teacher to perform his function as a bridge between two languages. A careful contrastive analysis can reveal system conflicts that might possibly otherwise be missed, such as the consonant cluster patterns in Spanish that involve a *y* or *w*. Generations of Spanish teachers in the United States have taught *fiesta* and *luego* as three-syllable words, *fi-es-ta* and *lu-e-go* (instead of *fyes-ta* and *lwe-go*), simply because they did not have the technical experience to hear them as having two syllables and there was no easily accessible description that explained in specific terms how the patterns of consonant clusters differ in English and Spanish. The same problem is more acute in the presentation of three member clusters, as in *prieto* and *grueso,* which have frequently been modeled and taught as *pri-e-to* and *gru-e-so* (instead of *prye-to* and *grwe-so*). Because of the differences in the English and Spanish phototactic systems, these are difficult for speakers of English. They are not impossible, however, but the first requirement in the classroom is a knowledge, at least on the part of the teacher, of what the pattern contrasts are. Problems of this kind are rarely solved out of awareness.

The English teacher who is presenting the English post tonic *t* and *d* in words like *Betty* and *meadow* to Spanish-speaking students will likely be much more successful if he knows that the most nearly similar Spanish sound is not *t* or *d,* but *r,* in Spanish words like *beriberi* and *mero.* Making this simple comparison in the classroom may go far to assure a more acceptable pronunciation of words like *motor* and *leader,* which are often heard as [mótər] and [lídər].

All of the learning problems are not in the area of pronunciation, as language teachers well know. A grammatical problem that is especially difficult is the mastery of Spanish noun-class patterns by students who speak English. Spanish nouns have gender classification: all belong to one or the other of two large gender classes, usually designated masculine and feminine. The assignment is arbitrary: that is to say there is nothing in the meaning of the word that determines or even indicates that it belongs to the masculine or to the feminine class. The form of the word may carry a hint, with an *o* ending for masculine and an *a* ending for feminine, but exceptions are numerous and troublesome. Also there are many nouns that don't end in *o* or *a*, and their classification is harder because of the reliance a student develops for the *o-a* signal.

The facts of noun classification are simple. They can be explained in a couple of minutes, after which the problem is how to internalize the pattern in the speech habits of the student. Experience has shown that this is difficult indeed, a problem that requires far more attention than the limited explanation and drill offered in the typical Spanish class. Why? Because we are involved with one of the basic categories of the language, one that forms part of the warp and woof of nearly all subsequent patterns, and simplicity of presentation cannot be equated with ease of internalization.

The most nearly similar distribution in English, and the one regularly compared to Spanish gender classes, is not really gender at all, but sex. Assignment to masculine, feminine, and neuter in English (or perhaps to avoid unnecessary confusion we should say male, female, and neither) is not arbitrary, but is inherent. Differences are visible, so there is no need to learn class membership as additional grammatical information. The English-speaking student of Spanish has to accept gender, not just understand it, and develop a feeling for concordance requirements for which his native English gives him no equivalence. An analysis which identifies this as a basic contrast between the structural systems of the two languages has provided the teacher with information that suggests the pedagogical priority that must be assigned the problem if students are to be given the experience they need to master it. Simplicity in this instance is deceptive and detrimental to effective learning.

Sometimes a pattern of one language is superimposed on another, where the evidence differs only slightly. A good example can be seen in the comparisons of inequality made in English and Spanish. English has three degrees: positive, comparative, and superlative, as in *rich, richer, richest.* Spanish has only two degrees, coalescing the comparative and superlative, as in *rico, más rico.* But, since a superlative is usually a single referent selected from a group in English, the concept is frequently transferred to Spanish, with the English pattern imposed, so that the series is claimed to be: *rico, más rico, el más rico.* This anglicized analysis conceals the fact that *el más rico* can refer to one of two items being compared and that *más rico* can refer to one out of many. In other words the English three-way pattern just doesn't fit, in spite of the tradition that has grown in the school grammars. And it does a student no service to give him inaccurate information to guide his efforts to learn the patterns of the language. Trying to translate *the good, the better,* and *the best* in Spanish yields only *lo bueno* and *lo mejor.*

Sometimes a pattern can be greatly simplified by an improved analysis. A convincing example of a simplification which is pedagogically useful is the analysis of the English verb auxiliary suggested by Noam Chomsky, which shows a basic regularity in the verb pattern that was not previously well understood. English verb behavior has long been recognized as one of the most difficult patterns to teach a speaker of another language, and any simplification is needed and welcome.

Chomsky suggested treating the tense morpheme as an independent element which joins whatever verb form is conveniently near in the auxiliary pattern. When no other verbal element is available, the verb *do* is introduced with the sole function of carrying the tense element of the verb phrase. Thus *He came* has the interrogative form *Did he come* and the negative *He didn't come* as a natural consequence of inverting subject and verb or of inserting *n't* in the string of elements. The basis for correcting errors like **He didn't came* is the observation that the tense morpheme is separated from the main verb, and since tense is marked only once in any simple verb phrase, it can occur only once. *He didn't come* fits into the same pattern as *He couldn't come, He wouldn't come, He shouldn't come, He hadn't come, He wasn't coming,* etc.

We have seen that the verb *do* appears in the verb phrase when no other verb form is available. In this function it is a kind of pro-verb. It has a closely related function in its contrast with *make,* which for Spanish speakers is certainly a difficult teaching point on the lexical level, since both are translated by the Spanish verb *hacer.* A careful contrastive analysis of *do* and *make* can significantly reduce the area usually described as "idiomatic usage," which is the usual last resort explanation in descriptive analysis, used when no better solution to a distributional problem can be devised.

What is the difference between *do* and *make?* The answer can best be seen in the responses to the questions *What are you doing* and *What are you making.* The answer to *What are you making* is a noun: *I'm making a chair, a dish, a cake, some candy, a mistake,* etc. But the response to *What are you doing* is a verb: *I'm eating, reading a book, looking up a word in the dictionary, finishing my assignment, trying to light a fire,* etc. This is consistent with the function of *do* as a pro-verb, a verb used to refer to other verbs, as when one asks *What are you doing.* The question wouldn't be asked if the verb which *do* stands for were already identified.

Do can stand for any other verb, including *make,* as in the exchange *What are you doing—I'm making a cake.* In fact it would probably never occur to an English speaker to make any special association between *do* and *make* if it weren't that the association is specified by their common translation in Spanish: *hacer.* It is a contrastive analysis of English and Spanish, then, that identifies the special relationship necessary to present English to speakers of Spanish.

But the shoe fits on the other foot with linking verbs. For the English verb *be* Spanish has two translations: *ser* and *estar.* Distinguishing the uses of these two has long been recognized as perhaps the most difficult lexical choice an English speaker faces in learning Spanish. The traditional textbooks are vague and not very helpful in offering guidance to the student. A careful contrastive analysis discloses a pattern of usage which can be specified in considerable detail in terms that are both reasonable and meaningful to the student. That pattern can be described as follows:

1. The copula is *ser,* which always joins two nouns.
2. Before an adverb, event nouns in the subject take *ser,* nonevent nouns take *estar.*
3. Before an adjective *ser* is used in a sentence that expresses what is considered a norm, *estar* expresses a variation from the norm.

Examples of these statements or rules can be cited. For number one, *Juan es el secretario, Esa muchacha es mi hermana.* There is no contrast in the case of nouns; only *ser* is used. Another example is the use of numbers to indicate time of day. *Ser* is always used because the number is in fact a noun, nominalized by the definite article: *Es la una, Son las cinco, etc.* No special rule is needed, just the realization that a noun follows the copula.

Before adverbs, statement number two, we say *La fiesta es aquí,* but *El muchacho está aquí. Fiesta* refers to an event; *muchacho* not to an event, but to an entity. The difference between event and nonevent is the basis of the choice between *es* and *está* before an adverb. Occasionally the same noun will appear in both patterns, as in *La comida es en el comedor* and *La comida está en el comedor.* This means that *comida* can be used either as event or nonevent noun. The first sentence means that the dinner is to be eaten in the dining room, the second that the food is in the dining room. Some texts try to explain that *está* means "is" but *es* means "is to be held." This usually works, since nonevent nouns cannot be "held." But this is a weak explanation for two reasons: 1) It is indirect, a roundabout way of identifying event nouns—why not just tell the student about this noun classification?—and 2) we don't regularly use *held* for this meaning when we speak English. We say *The race is at Belmont, The committee meeting is at nine,* etc. So the crutch is not available when it is needed.

The third statement, describing the use of *ser* and *estar* before adjectives, is also a contrast. A situation considered normal is reported with *ser: El hielo es frío.* If the ice were hot, it would be reported with *está, El hielo está caliente,* because this would represent a change from what is expected as normal. If one says to an attractive young lady *Qué linda eres,* he is making a judgment of the girl's basic physical attractions. If the comment is *Qué linda estas,* the translation is more accurately *How nice you look tonight,* implying that she is even more attractive than might have been expected. The distinction is norm-change: *ser* to express norm, *estar* to express change.

This description needs to be refined to include *ser* and *estar* before perfective participles. *El camino es cortado* means "the road is being cut," where *El camino está cortado* means "the road is in a cut condition," as a result of having been cut. One might say that in *El camino es cortado* the act of cutting represents the norm for that act and that in *El camino está cortado* that the cut now having been made implies a change.

The result of such a description is that the semantic area which must be explained by special rules or translations or that must be tagged as idiomatic usage is greatly reduced. The generalizations that explain the contrast can be applied in more instances, and the learning load is reduced. At the same time it is reasonable to assume that the student is developing the kind of feel for the contrast that the native speaker of Spanish has, the feel which allows the native speaker of any language to make correct choices in the language.

A linguistically sophisticated teacher, all other things being equal, should be a more versatile professional. He has specific training which should allow him to apply his reasoning capacity, not just his intuition, to the solution of new and unexpected problems. And if his linguistic training includes a careful contrastive analysis of background and target languages, he should be better able to deal with the specific problems of interference that will be present.

In addition to the usual problems of classroom presentation, the linguistically sophisticated teacher should be better equipped for three special jobs that teachers are often asked to do. These are: (1) evaluate textbooks to judge their relative efficiency, (2) make necessary adaptations to a textbook with specific weaknesses, and (3) plan remedial course work for particular corrective purposes.

With the confidence that he understands the nature of the problems of interference that are generated when a speaker of one language sets about learning another, of the rearrangement of patterns necessary to meet the requirements of a new language system, the teacher can apply all his skill as a methodologist to the problem of internalizing modified patterns of linguistic behavior on the part of his students. The more specific the details of each language system and the more carefully aligned these are in a meaningful contrastive analysis, the greater the likelihood of a significant application of linguistic information to the language learning situation.

THE USE OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO CHINESE SPEAKERS

San-su C. Lin

To help Chinese speakers learn English, a teacher with some knowledge of their native tongue can, through a contrastive analysis of Chinese and English, better understand and even anticipate the kind of difficulty they are most likely to encounter.

The Chinese language, however, consists of many different dialects, so different that speakers of two dialects can be mutually unintelligible. Ignoring minor differences, we can distinguish at least five principal Chinese dialects. Mandarin, also called the Peking dialect or the official dialect, is used throughout Northern China and many parts of Southern China, particularly the Southwest. The Wu dialect, as represented by the Shanghai dialect, is used in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang on the east coast. The Min dialect, the southern branch of which is represented by the Amoy dialect, is used on the southeast coast—including Fukien and the east part of Kwangtung—and the Island of Taiwan. The Yüeh dialect, or Cantonese, is spoken in Kwangtung and eastern Kwangsi. And the Hakka dialect spreads throughout the Southern provinces as far east as Taiwan and as far west as Szechwan.

Mandarin, by sheer number of speakers and by its influence as the official language of the land, is by far the most important. Throughout World War II and the Communist upheaval, rapid transition of the population helped to spread Mandarin to the territory of other dialects: South, Southeast, and Taiwan. Cantonese and Amoy, however, though spoken by relatively few people on the China mainland, are the native tongues of the majority of overseas Chinese in the Americas and in the South Seas. Most of the Chinese who migrated to the United States and Canada came from Kwangtung, where little Mandarin was used, and these people have kept their Cantonese dialect intact generation after generation in their American homes. Those who came to this country during and after World War II, on the other hand, are more likely to speak Mandarin than any other Chinese dialect.

For this contrastive study I shall use Mandarin primarily, with occasional references to Cantonese and Amoy whenever there is significant discrepancy among them.

Time does not permit a detailed or systematic description of the phonemic and grammatical systems of the two languages.[1] At the risk of oversimplification, I shall highlight only those phonological and syntactical differences which can be most helpful to the classroom teacher teaching English to Chinese speakers.

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[1] For a brief description of the sounds and grammatical system of Mandarin Chinese, see Y. R. Chao, "Pronunciation and Romanization" and "Outline of Chinese Grammar," Chapters 1 and 2 of *Mandarin Primer* (Cambridge, 1948) or John DeFrancis, "The Sounds of Chinese," *Beginning Chinese*, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1963), pp. xviii-xxx.

Let us begin with the consonants. The English language has three pairs of stops, /b/, /p/; /d/, /t/; and /g/, /k/; and a pair of affricates, /ǰ/, /č/, each pair consisting of a voiced and a voiceless counterpart. The voiceless ones, /p/, /t/, /k/, and /č/ are accompanied by a puff of air, or aspiration, whereas the voiced ones, /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ǰ/ are not. In other words, in English the voiceless stops and affricate are normally aspirated, but the voiced ones are unaspirated.

When /p/, /t/, /k/, and /č/ come after the /s/ sound, however, they are not aspirated. Thus we say *pie*, but *spy*; *tile*, but *style*; *key*, but *ski*; *luncheon*, but *Christian*. In this particular position, the English /p/, /t/, /k/, and /č/ sound almost like /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ǰ/, except that are not voiced. They are voiceless and unaspirated.

Mandarin Chinese also has three pairs of stops and a pair of affricates similar in position to those in English: [p], [p‘]; [t], [t‘]; [k], [k‘]; and [tç], [tç‘]. The phonemic difference which distinguishes the Chinese pairs, however, is aspiration, not voicing. In other words, while Chinese voiceless and aspirated stops [p‘], [t‘], [k‘], and affricate [tç‘] are similar to the English /p/, /t/, /k/, and /č/, with the puff of air perhaps a little stronger in Chinese than in English, the Chinese [p], [t], [k], and [tç] are not voiced like the English /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ǰ/. Instead, they are voiceless and unaspirated like the sounds in *spy, style, ski,* and *Christian.* Since aspiration is phonemic in Chinese, a Chinese speaker learning English may identify the English /p/, /t/, /k/, and /č/, as always aspirated and pronounce words like *spy, style, ski,* and *Christian* [sp‘ai], [st‘ail], [sk‘i], and [k‘risč‘ən]. He should not have too much difficulty distinguishing between contrasting pairs of English words such as *pin, bin*; *tea, bee*; *come, gum,* since one of each pair is aspirated while the other is not, but he will have difficulty learning the difference between *back, bag*; *hit, hid*; and *cup, cub,* when the aspiration in the final position is considerably weaker or sometimes omitted. In short, since the Chinese language has no voiced stops or affricates, the Chinese speaker will need guidance in hearing and pronouncing the English /b/, /d/, /g/ and /ǰ/ correctly.

Mandarin Chinese has two more pairs of affricates which English does not have: [ts], [ts‘] and [t̬s̬], [t̬s̬‘]. While these sounds may prove difficult to English speakers learning Chinese, they need not concern this audience today.

English has two pairs of sibilants: /s/, /z/ and /š/, /ž/; each pair again consisting of a voiced and a voiceless counterpart. Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, has three voiceless sibilants: [s], [ç] and [s̬]. The Chinese alveolar [s] is slightly further front than the English /s/, and the Chinese [ç] is somewhere between the English /s/ and /š/. Also the English /š/ is pronounced with protruded lips whereas the Chinese [ç] is not. Here again, the problem that confronts the Chinese speaker is to learn the voiced /z/ and /ž/ and to distinguish between contrastive pairs such as *sue, zoo*; *sip, zip*; *rice, rise*; *race, raise*; and *ice, eyes.* He may also have difficulty distinguishing /č/ from /š/, as in *watch, wash*; and *catch, cash.*

Of the four English fricatives /f/, /v/, /θ/ and /ð/, Mandarin Chinese and

Cantonese have only one, the [f] sound, and Amoy has none at all. The [v] sound seems particularly troublesome. It easily becomes, for the Mandarin or Cantonese speaker, the more familiar [f] or [w], and contrastive pairs of English words such as *vine* and *fine*; *view* and *few*; or *vine, wine*; *vow, wow* are likely to present a problem in discrimination and pronunciation.

Instead of English /h/, Mandarin Chinese has a velar fricative [x] as in [xau] "good" compared with English /hau/ *how*. However, since no phonemic contrast is involved in either language, the /h/ sound seldom presents a problem to the Chinese speaker.

In addition to the voiced stops, affricates, sibilants and other fricatives, the English consonants present the Chinese speaker with two more problems. One is the consonant cluster, consisting of a stop or a fricative followed by the lateral /l/ or the retroflex /r/. Such combinations as /pr/, /tr/, /kr/, /br/, /dr/, /gr/, /fr/, /θr/, /pl/, /tl/, /kl/, /bl/, /dl/, /gl/, /fl/, which abound in English, are rather complicated to a Chinese speaker who never uses such clusters in his native tongue. For the speaker of Cantonese or Amoy, who does not have the retroflex /r/ in his native dialect, contrastive pairs like *blue, brew*; *plays, praise*; *pleasant, present*; *glass, grass*; and *fly, fry* could be quite confusing until after much practice.

The other problem is the final consonants. Mandarin Chinese has only three final consonants, the nasals [n], [ŋ] and the retroflex /r/. The Mandarin speaker who encounters any final consonant other than these may drop it entirely or add a schwa to an extra syllable. Thus *I have* and *he has* are pronounced [ai hævə], [hi hæzə]. The Cantonese speaker, on the other hand, has six final consonants in his native dialect, [m], [n], [ŋ], [p], [t], and [k] and should not have too much difficulty with the English final consonants except the voiced stops, affricates, and fricatives.

As for the vowels, Chinese has only one high front unrounded vowel [i]; while English has two, the tense /i/ and the lax /ɪ/. (Chinese has another high front vowel, the rounded /y/, which has no equivalent in English and need not concern us here.) Similarly, Chinese has only one high back rounded vowel [u]; while English has two, the tense /u/ and the lax /ʊ/. The Chinese speaker, therefore, will have to master these four English phonemes and to learn to distinguish between contrastive pairs of English words such as *bit, beat*; *sit, seat*; *hid, heed*; *still, steal*; *pull, pool*; and *full, fool*. Two more English vowels which are likely to confuse the Chinese speaker are /æ/ as in *man* and /ɛ/ as in *men*, since Chinese has only one low-mid vowel which is between these two in position.

Before we leave the English sounds we need to call attention to the English intonation patterns which anybody learning English as a second language has to master but which he often overlooks. Chinese, of course, is a tone language. Each of the four tones in Mandarin Chinese consists of a different phoneme. For example, *mā, má, mă, mà* in Chinese may sound like one word spoken with different overtones to an English speaker, but they are four separate words, each marked by a different tone. The word *mā*, with a high even tone, means "mother"; *má*, with a low rising tone, is a plant; *mă*, with a low dipping tone, is a horse; and *mà*, with a high falling tone, means "to scold." The Chinese tone, however, is an integral part of the word or syllable, whereas intonation in English covers an entire sentence, clause, or phrase and often signals a difference in sentence structure or phrase structure rather than in lexical meaning. A question in Chinese, for example, is signaled by a particle attached at the end of the sentence; in English, the yes-no type question is often signaled by the rising intonation, a fact that the Chinese speaker is not aware of unless it is explicitly pointed out to him.

Syntactically, Chinese and English are both predominantly analytical, using word order, with the help of function words, as a major grammatical device. English, however, has a few inflectional forms: the /s/, /z/, or /ɪz/ ending for the plural number and the genitive case of nouns and for the third-person-singular present tense of verbs; the /t/, /d/, or /ɪd/ ending for the preterit and past participle of verbs; and the /ər/ and /əst/ endings for the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives and adverbs; not to mention the infixes of irregular nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and the many case forms of the personal pronouns. In Chinese, the concepts of number, tense, and degree are expressed primarily by vocabulary items, while the concept of case by word order. The Chinese speaker, therefore, must learn to think of these concepts as grammatical concepts as well as to master the various forms that signal them.

The Chinese sentence, like English, consists of a subject and a predicate. The subject, however, means subject matter to be discussed, not necessarily the performer of action. Applying the Chinese sentence pattern, a Chinese speaker may produce an English sentence like, "Today has a good movie," or "This place will open a store."

Chinese words denoting qualities can serve as both adjectives and verbs. For example, one says in Chinese, *t'a shih i ko lao jên*,[2] meaning "He is an old man," but *t'a lao le,* literally "He old," with *old* serving as a verb, the last word *le* being a perfective particle and the entire sentence equivalent in meaning to the English sentence "He has become old." From the English standpoint we might say that in Chinese the verb *to be* or the linking verb before a predicate adjective is omitted. It is of course unscientific to impose the structure of one language upon another, but this is exactly what a Chinese speaker will do until he has learned to use the correct English sentence patterns.

The Chinese language has no articles, although it has many classifiers used before a noun and after a number. Thus one says in Chinese, *i t'ou niu,* or "one head cattle," but not, "one head man," or "one head horse." Instead, one says, *i ko jên,* literally "one unit man," and *i ko p'in kuo,* "one unit apple." It may sound quite logical to say, *i t'iao hê,* or "one strip river," considering the long, narrow shape, but not so logical to say, *i t'iao kou,* or "one strip dog." All these classifiers (about two hundred of them) may be very baffling to an English speaker learning Chinese, but they in no way help the Chinese speaker solve the mystery of the English articles *a, an,* and *the* pronounced in two different ways.

Another complexity in English grammar for the Chinese speaker to grapple with is the prepositions. He can easily understand why "The book is *on* the table" or "The picture is *on* the wall," but he can never understand why "A person is *on* the committee" or "The house is *on* fire." The answer, perhaps, is really simple. We cannot expect a language to be logical. In order to master it we must yield to its demands.

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[2] This and subsequent transcriptions of Chinese words follow the Wade-Giles system of romanization.

There are no strict rules in the use of conjunctions in Chinese as there are in English. Coordinate constructions can be used without a conjunction or a pause, such as *t'a mai le hsü to i tzu cho tzu,* "He bought many chairs tables." On the other hand, two connectives may be used coordinately, like the English *either . . . or,* or *not only . . . but also.* For example, a Chinese might say, following the Chinese patterns, something like, "*Although* it rains, *but* I still want to go out," or "*Because* you are here, *therefore* he will come also." All these examples point to the fact that translation can never help the speaker of one language to learn another language; only contrastive analysis can.

Before closing, I would like to say something about two little words: *yes* and *no.* In Chinese *yes* means "you are right," or "I agree with you"; whereas *no* means "You are not right," or "I do not agree with you." If you should ask, "John is not coming tonight, is he?" a Chinese speaker would probably answer, "Yes, John isn't coming," or "No, John is coming." You need not wonder what he means; he can mean only one thing: that he needs your help to speak English properly.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF CONTRASTIVE STUDIES FOR THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH TO ARABIC SPEAKERS*

Naguib Greis

Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the world of Arabic speakers and that of English speakers. Consider, for example, their respective cultures; while the one is man-centered, the other is man-and-woman-centered. I recall that one of the first impressions of a Saudi student written in a composition class was thus expressed: "My mother works at home only," meaning, of course, that she is in marked contrast with the American woman. The segregation between men and women is reflected in the Arabic distinction between /ʔanta/ "you 2.s.m." and /ʔanti/ "you 2.s.f." It is perhaps significant that modern spoken Arabic has obliterated the distinction between masculine and feminine in the plural but still strictly maintains it in the singular. Gender in Arabic is independent of sex, but when it comes to feminine plural, it is treated the same as inanimate plural.

The contrast between the two languages can be clearly shown in the very manner of speech and writing. In English the emphasis is on the use of lips and the front part of the mouth, whereas in Arabic there are some seven post-velar sounds in addition to pharyngealization which is a distinctive feature. When it comes to writing, it is even worse; they start in opposite directions.

By contrasting the two languages the idea, however, is not to show the big differences and thus discourage both instructor and learner. On the contrary, this is precisely where the problem of the Arabic learner can be most effectively approached. We contrast Arabic and English in order to identify and concentrate on the significant contrasts within English that are most helpful from the point of view of the Arabic learner. To illustrate this idea let us consider the sound /p/. First, contrastive analysis reveals the fact that it does not occur in Arabic. Secondly, we notice that the significant contrast for the Arabic speaker is between /p/ and /b/, whereas for the Spanish speaker, for example, it is between /b/ and /v/.

It should be pointed out that the contrasting technique can be most effectively extended to all the elements of culture: speech habits, writing conventions, literature, and even religious beliefs. This is particularly helpful in the case of Arabic where religion profoundly affects the very rhythm of speech and modes of thinking. Religious functions can be performed only in the Arabic language. It may be interesting, too, to note that the teacher of Arabic is often the teacher of religion, i.e., Islam.

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* A selected bibliography of English-Arabic contrastive studies is appended to this paper.

But to limit our discussion to linguistic contrasts, it is customary to deal with three levels, namely, the phonological, the morphological, and the syntactical. As a general principle, however, the process of learning a language is both analytic and synthetic. Phonologically, for example, the Arabic speaker is given minimal pairs to distinguish the segmental phonemes /p/ and /b/ initially, medially, and finally. A further step is to be given these sounds in such a sentence pattern as: *Pete began to play ping-pong in the park.* A further step still is to distinguish and produce the /p/ in continued discourse. There is always a gap between distinguishing the sound and producing it, between doing this in single words and in sentence patterns, and between doing this again in controlled patterns and in free conversation.

Phonological Contrasts

By phonological we refer to vowel and consonant phonemes, to stress patterns, and to intonation contours. The Arabic speaker tends to project into English such features as pharyngealization and gemination. Writing conventions add to the problem of interference. For example, whenever an Arab sees double consonants (as in *announce*), he tends to produce geminate sounds. Furthermore, the lack of vowel symbols in the Arabic writing system accounts for some of his difficulties. What makes things even worse is the inconsistency of English spelling.

Listed below are some of the major phonological difficulties encountered by Arabic speakers in learning English.

A. *Consonantal Contrasts*

1.

p	b	park, bark
f	v	fan, van
θ	s	think, sink
ž	ǰ	measure, major
ŋ	n	sing, sin

2. Consonants that may present difficulty because of their different allophonic features:

Am. Eng. /r/ is a semivowel	Ar. /r/ is trilled
Am. Eng. /l/ is "dark"	Ar. /l/ is "clear"

3. Consonant Clusters:

		Maximum		Maximum
Initial:	Eng.	1–3	Ar.	1
Medial:		1–4		1–2
Final:		1–4		1–2

Difficulties are due to the number of the consecutive consonants, the type of consonants, and the order in which they occur. For example, the following words show an ascending hierarchy of difficulty: *consist, consists, months, sixths.* Whenever more than two consecutive consonants occur, the Arabic speaker tends to insert an epenthetic vowel.

B. *Vowel Contrasts*

i	e	bitter, better
ə	a	cut, cot
ɔ	o	caught, coat

Even when the word is monosyllabic the vowel quality is different, e.g., /bánk/–"bank."

It should also be noted that whereas Arabic contrasts short and long vowels, English has simple and complex nuclei:

Ar.	/sa:d/	"(he/it) dominated"	Eng.	/sit/
	/sadd/	"dam"		/siyt/

C. *Stress*

In Arabic the primary stress is in large measure predictable, usually on the penultimate syllable or on the final long vowel. In English it is inconsistent, though in many words it falls on the initial syllable. Notice the relationship between vowel length and primary stress in Arabic: the primary stress often falls on the penultimate syllable but on the final if it has a long vowel.

Ar.	/bánat/	"she built"	Eng.	pérmit	(n.)
	/baná:t/	"girls"		permít	(v.)

Again note the inconsistency in English stress patterns:

écstasy ecónomy económics

But perhaps the English feature most difficult for the Arabic speaker is stress-timed rhythm where the time between the primary stress and the next is about the same regardless of the number of syllables. In Arabic it is typical to give equal time to each part. Formal Arabic tends to be without any accentual system. The importance of acquiring English rhythm is basic to improvement in both speaking and reading habits.

D. *Intonation*

1. In spoken Arabic, utterances frequently start on a lower pitch than in English.
2. Level intonation is common in Arabic in casual statements or statements expressing surprise.
3. To express normal statements English shows sharper contrast. Compare:
   Eng. /231↓/ Ar. /211↓/
4. To express yes-no questions English generally uses a lower middle pitch:
   Eng. /233↑/ Ar. /241↑/

Morphological Contrasts

Perhaps the most significant difference in morphology between the two languages is the function of prefixes. While in English the past is indicated by a suffix (*love, loved*), in Arabic it is the absence of prefix that signals the past: (a) /kátab/ "he wrote" (b) /yíktib/ "he writes." The prefix in Arabic often indicates tense, and the suffix signals number:

/kátab/	"he wrote"	/hayíktib/	"he will write"
/biyiktib/	"he writes"	/kátabu/	"they wrote"

It is not surprising, therefore, when the Arabic speaker forgets the "s" in "writes."

Another source of trouble is the use of /ka:n/ in Arabic as equivalent of English *be, was, is.* /ka:n/ is a past tense marker and can be put before any of the verb forms—present, past, or future. Thus it is perfect to say: /ka:n hayíktib/ "he was going to write"; /ka:n kátab/ "he had written," etc. This accounts for such errors as "was write," "was wrote," etc.

Syntactical Contrasts

The true measure of mastering English, or indeed any foreign language, is not the number of lexical items learnt but the ability to identify habitually the relationship of these lexical items to each other. Sometimes the intonation contour signals relationships in a sentence pattern. More structural signals, however, are required for the clear understanding of these relationships. I will consider some of the syntactic devices that signal various construction types.

A. The use of *the* in English and /ʔal-/ or /ʔil-/ in spoken Arabic:

In some cases *the* and /ʔal-/ can be similarly used in the two languages. For example, in non-initial positions they may signal definiteness.

Ar.	/ʔana	šuft	ilbint/
Eng.	I	saw	the girl.

But in a large number of cases the two articles may signal opposite meanings. The absence of any "indefinite" article in Arabic makes the difference greater. Besides, there is nothing similar to the use of *the* as an adverb, e.g., *the sooner the better.*

Consider the three-way contrast in English:

(a) He went to school.
(b) He went to a school.
(c) He went to the school.

In Arabic the same pattern is used for (a) and (c). Again consider the contrast in the following patterns:

(d) School is good for children.
(e) A school is good for children.
(f) The school is good for children.

In Arabic initially there is only one pattern for all three.

Another problem is caused by count versus non-count nouns.

(a) He was given a permit.
(b) He was given permission.

For the Arabic speaker no such contrast exists.

The use of /ʔal-/ or /ʔil-/ is closely connected with the type of construction. This is particularly important in Arabic because of the occurrence of the verbless sentence pattern. Consider, for example, the following patterns:

(a) /mudarris (ʔil)lingli:zi/	"the teacher of English" (literally: "teacher the English")
(b) /ʔilmudarris ingli:zi/	"The teacher is English." (literally: "the teacher English")
(c) /ʔilmudarris lingli:zi/	"the English teacher," i.e., "the teacher who is English" (literally: "the teacher the English")

The absence of /ʔil-/ in the first part of (a) signals a construct, in (b) the absence of /ʔil-/ in the second part signals a sentence pattern, and in (c) the use of /ʔil-/ in both parts signals a modification structure, that is, Noun+Modifier. In English a similar relationship is, in a way, expressed by the use of stress. Compare:

(a) Énglish teàcher (b) Ênglish teácher

B. Word Order

In word order Arabic is almost exactly the opposite of English. Compare:

(a) Modification structure
Ar. Noun Adjective /bint gami:la/ Eng. Adjective Noun "pretty girl"
(b) Construct
Ar. /kita:b ilbint/ (literally: "book the girl") Eng. "the girl's book"

It will be noticed that a major source of difficulty is the tendency to look for equivalents in the two languages and to use translation as a short cut. But the proper and effective approach is to look for contrasts that are significant for the Arabic speaker.

CONTRASTIVE STUDIES OF ENGLISH AND ARABIC
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TO READ ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Charles C. Fries

To emphasize the needs and problems of learning to *read* English does not in any way conflict with our primary insistance upon the *oral approach.* As we have practiced it, the "oral approach" does not confine or limit the class-room practices of the teacher; it provides a measure for the degree of achievement to be attained by the pupil. During the first stage of learning a foreign language, the basic materials must be so completely and thoroughly learned that they can be produced orally by the pupils when stimulated solely by the meaning situations in which they are required. Both writing and reading can be made to contribute to the thoroughness and precision of that learning for oral production.

We thus have included reading in courses of study that aimed at the greatest possible efficiency in learning a second language, both for the purpose of supporting and supplementing the basic oral practices and for the purpose of teaching the pupil how to read the language he is studying.

Let me then briefly center attention upon two of the special tasks that the speaker of another language must struggle with if he would *read* English.

1) In order to read Present-Day English at all the pupil must master the writing system of Modern English.

All the basic writing systems of the languages of the world have as their purpose the representation of a language, as that language is used to carry on the affairs of a society. They aim to provide a *graphic code* through which one who has learned both the code of the language signals, and the code of the writing system, *can interpret the written materials in terms of the language they represent.* To read any writing efficiently, one must develop high speed discrimination and recognition responses to the graphic signs as representations of significant language parts.

The writing system of English is alphabetic—that is, as written, the words are "spelled" with "letters" that derive from the so-called Roman form of the western Greek alphabet. Most of the familiar European languages use the same alphabet to spell their words. But Modern English spelling is, in principle, considerably out of line with the spelling systems of these other languages. In fact Modern English spelling is also out of line with the spelling of Old English (from the earliest English documents until 1000 A.D.) and with the spelling of Middle English (from 1000 A.D. until after the death of Chaucer at the end of the fourteenth century).

The speakers of other languages, even if their language does use the same *form* of the Roman alphabet as English, must nevertheless, learn *a basically different system of representation* for the reading of Modern English.

In general, educators as well as linguists have usually measured the adequacy of alphabet systems of writing, in relation to the degree of correspondence of the individual letters with individual phonemes. The "ideal" of spelling by the letters of an alphabet has been to have each separate graphic sign represent a single "sound" and no more, and to have for each "sound" only one letter to represent it.

That Modern English spelling is farther from this "ideal" than any other language using the Roman alphabet seems to be the nearly unanimous opinion of those who have seriously discussed that subject during the last four hundred years—from *The Opening of the Unreasonable Writing of Our English Toung* (John Hart, 1551) to *Sound and Spelling in English* (Robert A. Hall, 1961). And yet the belief continues to exist that there must be some system in the relation of alphabet letters to English "sounds"—a system that can be grasped in generalizations to be used to advantage in learning to read Modern English writing. The recent computer attacks upon the problems of phoneme-grapheme correspondences have not yet given hope of any such generalizations. "It seems now that general rules without any consideration of morpheme boundaries are not likely to be possible."[1]

Even the major generalizations that have been taught to primary children for years have, under critical research, proved to have less than fifty percent validity.[2]

Historical evidence shows that a fundamental change in the basic principles of English spelling came about during the hundred years from 1450 to 1550. This change was triggered by what has been called the "Early Modern English vowel-shift" and affected especially the so-called "long" vowels. It actually amounted to a systematic redistribution of these particular phonemes. There would have been no special problem from this shift, if the system of writing had, as is usually the case, followed and adjusted itself, by spelling changes, to these "sound changes." But that did not happen. Instead, the old historical spellings remained, and these same letters, in their historical sequences, represented the new sounds. For example, Middle English /ridə/ spelled *ride* became Early Modern English /raid/ but still spelled *ride*. The spelling of the vowel "sound" continued with the same letter, but the "sound" was the quite different diphthong [ai].

In addition to the great vowel shift there was also the loss of the so-called "final *e*"—that is, the syllable represented by the final *e* letter was lost, but here also the old historical *e* spelling remained although there was no sound to be represented. It was even more than that. The old historical spellings with this final *e* remained; and they became the analogical base for the adding of an *e* spelling (never pronounced) to pull many words *without* this historical *e* into this particular spelling-pattern.

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[1] See, for example, the monograph by Ruth Hirsch Weir, *Formulation of Grapheme-Phoneme Correspondence Rules to Aid in the Teaching of Reading*, (Cooperative Research Project No. S-039, Stanford University, 1964). Also this study expanded and revised with the cooperation of R. L. Venezky, 1965.

[2] See Theodore Clymer (Past-President of the International Reading Association), "The Utility of Phonic Generalizations in the Primary Grades" in *The Reading Teacher*, 16 (1963), 252–260.

For Middle English /rod/, spelled *ro(o)d,* the Early Modern English /rod/ added an *e* for its spelling and became *rode,* although there never was, historically, a final /ə/ syllable here, nor an *e* spelling. It was the analogical process in spelling rather than in the language itself. All these changes, plus the earlier doubling of vowel letters to represent some "long" vowels and the doubling of many single consonant letters after some "short" vowels, destroyed (for the large body of the words affected) a large part of the regularity in English spelling as measured by individual correspondences of phonemes and individual letters.

These changes did a more important thing. They not only destroyed the correspondences of individual phoneme and individual letter, but they, on the positive side, served to establish a much larger range of regularity in Modern English spelling when that spelling is measured by patterns of spelling to represent riming morphemes.

Measured by this different systematic base of significant phoneme sequences as word-patterns represented by letter sequences as spelling-patterns, there appears a tremendous degree of regularity in Modern English spelling that does not appear otherwise—a regularity that can be structured systematically in small steps to lead the non-native speaker much more efficiently into a satisfactory control of the Modern English spelling system for both reading and writing.[3]

It is also only the spelling-pattern approach that will make sense out of Modern English spelling as it exists—with its hundreds of commonly used words that are *alike in sound* but *different in meaning* and *in spelling*—groups of pairs of words distinguished for the reader by differentiating patterns of spelling.[4]

Some samples of such patterns are the following:

ale – ail
bale – bail
hale – hail
male – mail
pale – pail
sale – sail
tale – tail

lane – lain
mane – main
pane – pain
plane – plain
vane – vain

made – maid
fare – fair
hare – hair
pare – pair

rode – road – rowed
lode – load – lowed
mode mowed

beet – beat
feet – feat
meet – meat
reed – read
see – sea
pleas – please

mite – might
rite – right
write – wright
site – sight

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[3] With this approach there appear to be but two major sets of spelling-patterns and eighteen minor sets. There are very few irregulars left over and these are partly patterned.

[4] It was this situation developing in Early Modern English that made possible the "etymological" spellings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the use of letters "silent to the ear but eloquent to the eye" to show the supposed Latin source. Even as early as 1643 Richard Hodges, in his little book *A Special Help to Orthography,* lists more than 700 words "alike in sound, and unlike in their signification and writing."

It is this great mass of words *outside* the first major set of spelling-patterns that presents a special problem for those speakers of other languages that also use our form of the Greek-Roman alphabet.[5]

2) In order to read Present-Day English efficiently, the student must respond to and supply the signals of the cumulative meanings for the materials he is reading.

Although high speed recognition responses to the spelling-patterns of Late Modern English do constitute a basic essential of reading English, these responses must become so automatic that they sink below the threshold of attention before the reader can do the kind of productive reading that is required in our reading centered society. I shall discuss briefly only what I call "reading for the cumulative meanings."

To provide support for the basic oral practices, the reading exercises must contain only the structures, the vocabulary, and the intonation contours that have already been taught and practiced. The reading selections for this purpose should never be the starting point out of which the oral practices arise. They must be the final focus point of a lesson in which all that has been learned is put to use in the reading. The pupil should not attempt to read such selections until after the oral practices of the materials have been completed, and the dialogs, in which they are contained, thoroughly learned. When they are read, the reading must be oral reading and real reading for the communication of meanings, not just saying the words.

As you well know, the signals that perform the communicating function of a language are, first of all, patterns of vocal sounds. These patterns of vocal sounds are primary in the sense that they came first in the history of man's communication. For reading, man has invented various types of graphic representations of these vocal "sounds." These patterns of graphic representations used for reading contain less of the language signals than do the primary representations—the patterns of vocal sounds themselves. In the graphic representations there are left out adequate markings for such language signals as intonation (sequences of tones of various pitch), differences of stress, and pauses to mark groupings.

Our punctuation system is quite limited when measured by the range of these vocal signals. If one is to read the conventional graphic representations of English with comprehension, he must learn to supply those portions of the language signals that are not represented in any of the graphic signs. Satisfactory reading is not simply a matter of speed and fluency. It shows itself, in oral reading, in what has been called reading "with expression." This reading "with expression" is not simply avoiding a monotone in producing the sound-patterns that make up the separate words. Reading English "with expression" consists of supplying the tone sequences, the stresses, and the pauses that English uses to signal a whole range of cumulative meanings. It is these cumulative meanings that are the function of the intonation sequences and the distribution of so-called "sentence" stresses and pauses.

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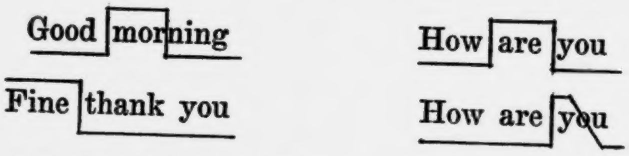
[5] This situation in English spelling (both theoretically and practically) seems to present less problems for speakers of those languages that have lographic or syllabary writing systems—providing, of course, that these speakers are not first subject to a "phonics" approach.

These cumulative meanings attach to sequences of sentences in a discourse.[6] It may be a discourse of only two brief utterances as in the following greeting.



It is these special oral signals of the cumulative meanings of sequences of sentences in a discourse, that must be *supplied* by the reader if he is to do the "productive reading" of adequately complete comprehension.

In most of our efforts to develop ability to read English as a second language we have not given enough practice, from the beginning, to the reading of materials that are being learned orally and in which *all* the signals have been thoroughly grasped and marked.

This first step in learning to read requires attention throughout most of the materials of the first stage of learning the second language.

The next step is the oral reading of new materials that have been carefully marked by the student for such a reading exercise. The third step is the oral reading of new material "at sight." And only, as the final step, would there be the silent reading of new materials and the demonstration by comment and questions of complete comprehension.

Learning to read well a second language after the age of ten or twelve presents quite a different set of problems from those of learning to read the first (or native) language. These problems deserve much more consideration and research than we have yet given them.[7]

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[6] A "discourse" is a stretch of talk consisting of utterances tied together by sequence signals. If in a sentence there is no sequence signal and it is not the initial unit of the discourse, that unit doesn't belong in the discourse.

[7] We need especially more and different contrastive studies of the second with the native language in the signalling uses of significant pitch sequences, special stresses, pauses, and other devices of sequence signals in complete discourse units rather than in the smaller utterance "sentence" units.

APPROACHES TO TEACHER PREPARATION

Elward M. Anthony

A little over three years ago I published an article called "Approach, Method, and Technique" in the British journal *English Language Teaching.* The three terms of the title were redefined in that paper on axiomatic (for *approach*), procedural (for *method*), and implementational (for *technique*) bases. They were defined in relation to language *teaching.* This terminological scheme appears to have been accepted by some, and the article has been reprinted three times since in various publications. There are certain disadvantages for me, nevertheless, in all this. If I wish to claim consistency, this theory of theories rather forces me at least to consider other language teaching questions in its light. So today I would like to attempt to relate the broad subject of teacher preparation to approach, method, and technique. Two more definitions are necessary first:

> *Education* is the development of the special and general abilities of the mind (learning to know) . . . *Training* is practical education (learning to do) or practice, usually under supervision, in some art, trade, or profession: *training in art, teacher training.*[1]

Assuming (a) that a useful difference between teacher education and teacher training indeed exists, and (b) that the approach-method-technique base possesses some validity, we can make some appropriate comments which may help to distinguish teacher *training* and teacher *education* programs.

Let us first consider the kinds of matters included in *approach* that are fitting for attention in a teacher education program. An approach states axioms or assumptions about language and about teaching language. In preparing teachers, one may attack the problem in several ways. A number of approaches can be presented which may, indeed, contradict one another. The instructor may offer solely his own approach. Or, one can present several approaches, then focus on one for detailed explication. On the level of teacher *education,* I would guess that the latter course might prove most fruitful; that is, giving the characteristics of a number of approaches, then dwelling more fully on one which becomes of central interest as teacher preparation continues. Ideally, and when time limitations do not prevent, perhaps a rather large number of divergent approaches could be discussed in detail.

In considering matters of language teaching approaches that are appropriate on the teacher *training* level, the instructor has a more circumscribed goal. A recommendation might be: a bare statement of principles or axioms of one selected approach, a minimum discussion and justification, then immediate descent from the cloud-capped peaks of theory into the valleys and plains of method.

As you will probably have observed, I am proceeding as if I had before me a six-celled matrix, with the rubrics *education* and *training* heading two vertical columns, and with the terms *approach, method,* and *technique* from top to bottom along the side. The next subject for commentary is located in the cell where *method* and *education* intersect. *Method,* at the procedural level, is defined as "an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts. . .the selected approach."

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[1] Clarence L. Barnhart, ed., *The American College Dictionary* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 383.

Let us exemplify this by taking up, for example, contrastive analysis. Teacher education—"learning to know"—perhaps demands at the method level the communication by the instructor of insights into contrastive analysis if (and of course *only* if) contrastive analysis is compatible with the selected approach. I say "perhaps" because the process of teacher education at the approach level might have rejected contrastive analysis as an irrelevant linguistic exercise. Let us, however, proceed *as if* contrastive analysis were completely acceptable. At the method level, the teacher educator would be likely to point out procedures for carrying on contrastive analysis on phonological, lexical, and grammatical levels. He would introduce examples from various languages to illustrate these procedures, specify alternative ways of getting at comparisons, accept modifications from his students. In fact, the group of "educatees" might take the class, quite legitimately, in directions unanticipated by the instructor. Here it could well be appropriate to make value judgments of extant language textbooks by holding them up against the touchstone of a given approach. Here two or more methods, as displayed in texts, might be compared—to the advantage of one, the other, both, or neither. "Both or neither" must be said because it is conceivable that two equally valid methods might co-exist, so to speak, under the roof of one approach. It is also conceivable that two methods might claim to follow, for example, the audio-lingual approach, but in reality do no such thing.

Now to proceed to the intersection of training and method on our grid. Training, which implies the impartation of skills, need not go deeply into the matter of evaluation, nor yet into alternatives. Teacher training implies, more than does teacher education, a group of teacher trainees that is homogenous in some way. A group of Americans preparing to teach high school English in the island principality of Euthanasia might be used as an example of a group that can be effectively *trained.* On the method level, they can be told about the presumed virtues of contrastive analysis and presented with an existing contrastive analysis of the standard dialect of the Euthanasian capital compared with English. As a supplement, or even as a substitution, trainees can be instructed in the use of Euthanasian books actually assigned to be used in the high schools of Euthanasia. We cannot, of course, always assume that these texts represent the latest findings of pedagogy or linguistics.

Our hypothetical group of teacher trainees would, of course, have to be trained to use modifications of these books which would, hopefully, be worked out by the teacher trainers. If such modifications are not developed, the teachers going to Euthanasia would need to be educated rather than trained in order to give them the knowledge necessary to introduce their own modifications.

Various levels of training in methodology exist. At the lowest level, training programs produce pedagogical automata; at the highest, training approaches education.

Let us move down to the last level of our matrix—the level of *technique*. Techniques—tricks or stratagems for classroom use in response to particular teaching situations—are somewhat awkward to handle within the matrix to which I have limited myself. This is at least partly because a technique can rarely, perhaps never, be evaluated outside the larger context of method and approach. That is, a technique which employs imitation would be considered right at some stages of the language learning process, wrong at others. A technique is never wrong *absolutely,* but right or wrong only in relation to a particular method within a particular approach. This makes it difficult, perhaps impossible, to differentiate between techniques for teacher education and techniques for teacher training. Maybe a statement of general principles on the level of technique is all that can be achieved. One might suggest that teachers who are to be trained should be given a set of techniques in a particular order for use with a particular student body, and then allowed the opportunity of practice-teaching until habits of technique presentation can be developed.

But what is the place of techniques in teacher *education?* It seems almost self-evident that an educated teacher must have a command of techniques. But use of technique in the classroom seems to me to be, clearly, *training.* I think that the answer to this dilemma is that educated teachers must be trained on the technique level as well as educated. There is some anecdotal evidence to support this point of view. Many of us have known competent language theorists who are able both to communicate language information and to tell us how to teach. Then, sometimes embarassingly, we see the theorist attempt to teach a language class and recognize that he knows what to do but can't do it in the classroom situation. This seems to me to be because the effective use of techniques is habitual and, like playing tennis or the piano, must be kept up to remain useable. I myself haven't taught a class aimed purely at language *control* for a number of years. A few weeks ago, however, I let myself be talked into taking part in a demonstration class. The result was, in my opinion, a disaster. My "technique muscles" had atrophied and I was unable to respond. This leads me to believe that, on the technique level there is really no such thing as *education,* that the only possible attack on these problems is through training.

If asked to make one statement about preparing teachers for duty abroad, I would say all such teachers *must* be trained; some of them should be educated. If asked what portion of a training program is of paramount importance, I would have to say training in making the *use* of techniques automatic or, in a word, practice teaching in abundance.

TRAINING VERSUS EDUCATION

Russell N. Campbell

My paper deals primarily with the training of Peace Corps Volunteers to teach English as a second or foreign language. In presenting it I shall attempt to show why the existing Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) programs available in many of the large TESL centers were not immediately successful in preparing Peace Corps Volunteers (PCV's) for the tasks to which they were assigned. Furthermore, by doing this, I believe I shall be describing the fundamental differences between a TESL *training* program in contrast to a TESL *educational* program.

Of the first universities in the United States to offer a certificate or degree program in the training of teachers of English as a foreign language was the University of Michigan. Their first program was in 1950. In the sixteen-year interim between 1950 and 1966, at least fourteen other universities have inaugurated similar programs. More important, these sixteen years have provided us with a mass of practical and theoretical information about modern language teaching and learning as well as about the English language itself. The TESL courses in these fourteen schools reflect these gains in knowledge, and our texts, books, and journals have recorded them and made them available to the students as they participate in these academic programs.

To only a very limited degree can PCV's avail themselves of these important gains while they are at the training centers. To understand why this is so, we will need to compare two types of programs and see in what ways they differ. I shall refer to one as a *regular* or *academic* TESL program and the other as a Peace Corps TESL program. Although I realize that there are minor differences from university to university, for this comparison I shall use the TESL program we have at the University of California at Los Angeles as exemplary of the regular program. As for the Peace Corps TESL programs, since I have worked with them in one capacity or another at four different universities and have read reports or talked to co-ordinators of several others, my remarks will reflect my understanding of them gained by this experience.

THE DIFFERENCES: Compare first the element of time. To receive a TESL certificate at UCLA one must successfully pass a total of eight three-hour courses, about half of them graduate courses and the remainder upper division courses. These courses can be completed in no less than one academic year and for some, who take additional courses toward a Master's degree in English, education, or linguistics, the TESL courses may be spread out over three or four semesters. Similar courses at other universities take similar periods of time to complete.

An average Peace Corps training program has a total duration of eleven to thirteen weeks and only eight-and-a-half or nine of those weeks include instruction in TESL. A regular program then, is given over a nine-month period, a Peace Corps program over a nine-week period.

A student in a regular program attends classes perhaps as much as twelve hours a week, and with some few exceptions, all of the courses he takes are related to the study of language and linguistics or to the teaching and learning of languages.

A Peace Corps Volunteer during the nine or so weeks he is receiving instruction in TESL attends classes between fifty and sixty hours a week; that is, in one week, he attends as many hours of classes as the regular student attends in five.

If these sixty hours were all devoted to some aspect of TESL, then it would be almost imaginable that we could teach the PCV as much in nine weeks as the regular student learns in nine months. However, this is not the case. In addition to his TESL courses, the PCV is concurrently being taught the language, history, culture, politics, and geography of his future host country; he is also attending classes in American history, culture, politics, and geography, as well as courses in Communism, physical education, and first aid. His classes usually begin before eight in the morning, and the last one usually terminates at nine-thirty or ten at night. This goes on five days a week. On Saturday he may have classes until four or five in the afternoon; then, he collapses until the following Monday morning when it starts all over again.

Another way to look at this time differential is to compare the instruction time devoted to the various TESL subjects. For example, our regular students receive 65 hours of instruction in the methods of modern language teaching; the PCV 20 hours. The regular student receives 45 hours on English phonology; the PCV 15. The regular student takes a 45-hour course in contrastive analysis; the PCV is given 4 hours of instruction in this area; the regular student receives an additional 190 hours of instruction in descriptive linguistics, composition, practice teaching, and English or American literature, while the PCV receives a total of 29 hours in these subjects. At the end of an academic year the regular student, then, has had approximately 375 hours of instruction as compared to about 75 or 80 hours in nine weeks for the PCV. This difference in hours is substantial in itself; however, when you consider that we expect our regular students to do at least one or two hours of outside reading, researching or perhaps experimentation for every classroom hour, we see that the total educational experience of the regular student involves an excess of a thousand hours. From the training schedule described earlier, you can easily imagine how much time and energy the PCV has for outside reading or even outside thinking about his TESL classes. In fact, it has been stated policy in some of the Peace Corps programs that no outside assignments were to be made. For all practical purposes, whatever knowledge the PCV receives about TESL in a training program he receives from his classroom teacher.

Much of what is different about the two types of programs can be directly traced to this factor of time. There are, however, other differences. One of these is the difference in the make-up of the student body. Briefly, the students of the regular program have frequently been experienced teachers of English as a foreign language. For years most of our regular students were from abroad. Only recently has the percentage of American students begun to be significant.

The average PCV, on the other hand, is usually a recent college graduate, with a *major* in English; he has probably never taught a class in his life, has not had a course in English grammar since he was a freshman in college, if then, and has rarely, if ever, thought about English as being foreign in any way. However, in his favor, he realizes that within a matter of weeks he will be in front of a class, so he is highly motivated and eager to learn.

There is one final difference I would like to mention. A very important difference. Whereas our students in regular academic programs are from perhaps fifteen or twenty different countries and are concerned with teaching English to students from a dozen or so different language backgrounds, the PCV's, in any one training program, are all going to teach in one country with one national educational policy as it pertains to TESL, and all of their students are likely to speak the same language (there are many exceptions to the latter of course). If it were not for this uniformity, I am not certain a nine-week training program would be of much value.

As a result of these significant differences and others which I have not enumerated, it follows that the objectives of the two types of programs must be different. It would seem to me that what we are trying to do in a regular program is to facilitate in every way possible the student's familiarization and understanding of the collective body of knowledge pertinent to the field of teaching English as a second or foreign language. This is done through the efforts of his teachers in the classroom, through the library facilities, and through the general lectures and discussions of the field that he participates in during his academic career. Hopefully when he finishes our regular programs, (1) he will have gained a knowledge and understanding of the historical development of the field, (2) he will be prepared to keep up with the literature and will be able to contribute to the growth of the field, (3) he will have acquired a basis for evaluating the teaching materials that come to his attention. And, (4) he will be prepared to select critically those aspects of the academic program which are useful and applicable to his own teaching situation. At least these objectives, among others perhaps, are characteristic of an educational program.

The training program, at least of the type I am discussing, that is, a Peace Corps training program, although it might wish to fulfill similar objectives, necessarily must seek less powerful goals. There simply isn't time to educate the PCV in the field of TESL. Those of us who tried to maintain the same objectives by giving the PCV's a watered down version of the regular program only succeeded in confusing and bewildering the PCV and in general left him ill prepared to meet his teaching responsibilities. With the regular student we present, discuss, and debate the various aspects of the field. With the PC trainee, we say, in effect: When you get to Ethiopia, or Nigeria, or Thailand, these are the problems you are likely to have and these are the suggested solutions to those problems. Put them in your notebook.

This implies, of course, that the training staff is aware of the peculiar problems the PCV is likely to encounter in the host country. This is as it should be and as it can be. There are now a number of sources from which this kind of information can be drawn which in the early days was either not available or was ignored. Briefly these sources are:

1. The Peace Corps Washington English Language Specialist, currently Dr. Harry Freeman.

2. The Peace Corps Representative stationed in the host country.
3. The COR, i.e., the Contractor's Overseas Representative whose job it is to co-ordinate the activities of the training center and the field.
4. Returned Peace Corps Volunteers who have taught English in the host country.
5. Other U.S. agencies who maintain offices in the host countries, such as AID or USIS, which have been involved in TESL programs.
6. There have been cases where the university co-ordinator of a PC TESL program has been sent to the host country to ascertain the training needs of the PCV.

From these sources the training staff can acquire materials such as texts and tests as well as answers to such questions as these:

1. Does the host country require teachers of English as a *second* language or as a *foreign* language? In other words, is English used as a medium of communication in the country, or is it simply taught as another subject in the curriculum?
2. On what level will the Volunteer be teaching, i.e., elementary, secondary, or university level?
3. How many hours of English instruction per week will the Volunteer teach? Will he teach an integrated program (pronunciation, grammar, and reading) or only a single area (pronunciation)?
4. At what age is English instruction begun in the schools? How much remedial work will be necessary?
5. What materials are used for the teaching of English in the host country? Can samples be sent to the training site?
6. What kinds of tests and examinations are given, i.e., are they state-controlled examinations, or does each school system have its own? In the latter situation, will the PCV be responsible for constructing these examinations? Can samples be sent?
7. What is the primary goal of English instruction in the school, i.e., oral communication, reading English textbooks, translation, etc.?
8. How large are the language classes?
9. What facilities, if any, are available for outside study or for language-laboratory instruction?
10. What methods are already being used to teach language? Are the methods prescribed by educational officials actually implemented in the local schools?
11. To what degree will the Volunteer be under the immediate supervision of education officials; for example, will he work as a co-teacher?
12. Will he work within the framework of a syllabus, or will he be expected to design his own program?[1]

If the TESL co-ordinator at the training center is supplied with the answers to these questions, and if he has available at the training institution multiple copies of the texts, syllabi, and examinations currently being used in the host country, he can design a training program that is specific rather than general.

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[1] This list is essentially that drawn up by Fred Bosco, et al., in their unpublished handbook *TEFL/TESL for PCT's*, prepared at the University of Hawaii.

For example, if he finds that the PCV will be *required* to teach from *Anglais vivant* he will do his best to train him to get the most out of *Anglais vivant;* he will guide the PCV in the preparation of lesson plans based on that book; he will provide him with an opportunity to teach that lesson to a guinea pig class and then test what he has taught: test in the way that the student will be tested by the national examinations in the host country.

To give you some idea of the nature of some of the national examinations, thus some idea of what the PCV must prepare his student to pass, let me read a few of the questions from this "West African Certification Test" used in Nigeria and other West African countries. The first question is based on the following quotation:

> Of all the factors which affect the success or failure of climbers' attempts upon the Himalayan mountains, the weather must surely be the most exacting. There are, of course, other vital factors. The physical difficulties of the actual climbing can be overcome by minute attention to details of equipment, supply and man-power, and by well-organized cooperation and coordination of effort among members of the teams. It was stubborn fearlessness, which refused to be daunted, and superb physical fitness, which never failed, that made it possible for the climbers to conquer the treacherous Ice Fall.

QUESTION 1

Make a summary of the whole passage, which contains 356 words, *in not more than 125 words*. Take care to give a continuous connection of the ideas. Failure to keep within the limit of 125 words will be penalized.

A second reading passage is provided on which the following questions are based:

(a) For each of the following words, which are taken from the above passage, give a word or short phrase which *could be used to replace it in the passage without change of meaning.*
(i) noted (1.1); (ii) uncommon (1.6); (iii) vendors (1.16); (iv) squat (1.16); (v) wares 1.17.
(b) Explain what is meant by (i) for its own sake (1.3), and (ii) set aside for the purpose (1.8).
(c) State *three* reasons suggested by the author for the people's delight in markets.
(d) What conclusion did the author come to about the diet of the people? What led him to this conclusion?
(e) Why was it difficult for the buyers to move about the market?

The final question of the examination further reflects the nature of English language instructional goals in countries where this final English examination is given:

QUESTION 4
Answer (a), (b) *and* (c).

(a) Write down the plural form of each of the following, being careful to place the apostrophe in the right position: a lady's hats; a child's games; a monkey's paws.
(b) Explain the difference in meaning of the following two sentences:
(i) I set out to catch the train arriving at the station at 2:30 P.M.
(ii) I set out to catch the train, arriving at the station at 2:30 P.M.
(c) Write down the following conversation in correct paragraphs and with the correct capital letters, apostrophes and punctuation marks:
hows your mother i asked quite well thank you answered jane and what does she think of your brothers engagement oh shes delighted when tom told her she exclaimed how lovely and added you must be married in may at st georges newton

Frequently, the reputation of the English teacher (and in turn his school's reputation) rests on the percentage of his students who pass this test. It is frequently, probably always, more important to the student that he pass this test than that he know how to speak and understand oral English. If he fails it, it may well mean the end of his formal schooling. He simply would not be qualified to enter the university. A PCV who decides that his students are deficient in oral English and spends time working on that instead of preparing his students for the examinations might find that he has a student walk-out or strike on his hands.

In addition to examinations, a training program can familiarize the trainee with the content of the local and national syllabi (if they exist). Frequently this means teaching him, or reviewing for him, traditional grammar terminology. Without this terminology it is possible that he will not be able to read the syllabus or communicate with his colleagues and students who have employed these terms to talk about English grammar for generations. More important, the syllabi define for the PCV the nature and scope of his task as seen by the host country officials responsible for the teaching of English.

Although we must realize that a PCV teacher of English, with only nine short weeks of training, is not going to be in a position to evaluate critically an on-going English program in the host country and certainly he will not immediately be in a position to recommend changes, the training center can give the PCV an introduction to what is considered the most effective way of teaching a modern foreign language. He can view three or four of the Modern Language Association films, observe several demonstration classes, and listen to a small number of lectures on the subject. In addition, he can be provided with copies of such books as those by Fries, Brooks, Lado, and Stevick which can be taken with him to the field. If the PCV eventually becomes sufficiently disturbed with the existing English program in the host country, he may find these resources useful in *suggesting* modification. Fundamentally, we hope that the PCV will, before his tour of duty is over, be able to satisfy the existing requirements of the English curriculum and, in addition, teach many aspects of oral English not currently emphasized by those requirements.

I think it will be recognized that to train a group of people to perform in a specific way with a specific set of materials is in many ways simpler than trying to *educate* a group about a rather large and frequently controversial body of knowledge. To deal with concrete problems is simpler than dealing with pedagogical and psychological theories about language teaching and learning. For example, into a training program can be brought taped recordings of interviews with the actual students the volunteers will be teaching. The staff at the training center can say to the PCV: Here are the problems in pronunciation and grammar your students are having; here's how you can handle them.

We can also collect essays written by their future students. The instructor can say: Read these; here are the problems in vocabulary, grammar, spelling, and punctuation they are having; here are suggested teaching techniques to solve them.

In my opinion if we consider the nature of current Peace Corps training programs, they can have only these specific limited objectives.

NEW MEASURES FOR O-L-D (ORAL LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT): PRIMARY LEVEL

Elizabeth Ott

Approximately forty percent of the Mexican-American population of the United States lives in Texas. This group, which is predominantly Spanish-speaking, comprises fifteen percent of the population of the State. This is to say that one out of every seven persons living in Texas is of Spanish-speaking background.[1] Based on census figures, an estimated 225,000 six-year-olds of Spanish-speaking background enter the first grade each year in the public schools of Texas. These children must conform to the school laws and educational programs designed for the predominant English-speaking Anglo, middle-class culture. Most of these children enter first grade knowing little or no English, and without preschool or kindergarten experience. In the school setting, these children are seriously disadvantaged socially, economically, and linguistically, as evidenced by their inability to advance in school at the expected rate of achievement set by the English-speaking Anglo culture (eighty percent retention in the first grade). Fortunately, with the advent of Head Start and federally-financed preschool programs, this deficit may begin to be overcome.

In 1964, Dr. Thomas D. Horn of The University of Texas College of Education began a research study designed to determine the load-carrying elements in developing reading skills for disadvantaged Spanish-speaking children. A basic premise of the study was the establishment of fluency in oral language prior to the beginning of formal instruction in reading, thereby undergirding the child linguistically, experientially, and cognitively, in order to narrow the great gulf of disadvantagedness which he brought to school with him. The subjects of the study were 900 first graders representing the most disadvantaged school population groups of the San Antonio School District. These subjects were 99 percent Spanish-speaking. Most of them came from families having less than $3000 annual income, and an average family membership of 5.4. Beyond the implicit socio-economic problems caused by these factors, the children were subjected to cultural sanctions which affected learning.

Since little work has been done in language teaching or testing in English as a second language for children who do not yet read or write, research data and test materials designed for other groups had to be used. The inappropriateness for the Spanish-speaking children of the tests used by the Cooperative Research First-Grade Reading Projects has been graphically illustrated in the analyses of test scores obtained. About the only meaningful analysis that could be made of test results which would fit the instrumentation set by the Cooperative Research Project Directors was the Metropolitan Readiness Test, Form A, administered in the spring of 1965. The Goodenough-Harris Draw-A-Man Test was administered during the fall testing. Sufficient doubt existed concerning the validity of this test for estimating the intelligence level of Spanish speakers that the Inter-American Test of General Ability (Spanish) was used. The Inter-American scores were held constant in the analysis for differences among groups as measured by the criterion measure, Metropolitan Readiness Test, Form A.

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[1] Data taken from "A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas," prepared by Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore (Austin, Texas: Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas, 1964).

The primary foci of the Research Study, i.e., the development of oral language, cognition, and experiential background as preludes to reading, are still largely unmeasured. Since our major concern here is that of measuring oral language development, let me clarify what I mean by the term *oral language development* and then place it in the contextual setting of the disadvantaged Spanish speaker at the preliterate stage. *Oral language development* refers to any given point, level, or stage along the continuum from non-speech to gross communication to full fluency in standard English to express fine discriminations with exactness and precision.

Fluency in oral language is defined as the ability to describe accurately familiar objects and events in the daily environment, to express ideas and to express personal feelings so that the intended meaning is conveyed. In addition to clarity of expression through breadth and depth of vocabulary, fluency is also indicated by length of uninterrupted response, accuracy of articulation, complexity of syntax, and length of sentence.

Underdeveloped language may be broadly classified into three types:

1. Verbal destitution. In this instance the child actually possesses very little language of any kind, communicates basic needs by signs and incomplete utterances. This kind of language poverty is usually due to restricted and too circumscribed opportunities for needing and/or using language.
2. Non-standard forms. This refers to fluency in language of a kind which is not acceptable by school standards. Children who have a sub-standard language may be able to make themselves understood, but their speech is full of gross errors and oddities. These may be regionalisms, but of a non-standard classification. Such non-standard forms carry a social stigma, in addition to their inappropriateness for academic learning.
3. Lacunary language. This term refers to underdeveloped language due to unconceptualized experiences. In certain aspects of experience valued by the schools, these children may have had no occasion to verbalize meanings and consequently may be impoverished in language. This type of underdevelopment deals directly with the unity of concept and language. Word ideas and meaning ideas are mostly acquired simultaneously. Interaction with others is the arena for language development.

In the case of the Spanish-speaking (so-called bilingual) child, these three kinds of underdevelopment may exist to a greater or lesser degree in his native language, while at the same time he may be handicapped in English in any one or more of these same areas of deprivation. For example, a child may be classified as verbally destitute in English and at the same time suffer from verbal restriction and the use of substandard forms in Spanish. Certainly for the child who must receive academic instruction in a second language the problems are compounded.

A review of the literature indicates that all the large-scale investigations of second-language teaching have had to face the problem of a criterion of success against which the results of the instruction could be evaluated. Unfortunately, most available measures of foreign language achievement have emphasized the command of the written language. It has proved difficult to develop reliable and valid tests of oral production; pupils' ability to speak a second language accordingly has had to be evaluated by inaccurate and impressionistic means.

Brooks[2] classifies language tests into four categories: *prognostic* tests to tell how well a student is likely to succeed in learning a given language; *progress* tests to tell how well he has mastered the contents of a specific program; *achievement* tests to give an index of growth not directly related to any single learning program; and *proficiency* tests to show how complete a mastery has been acquired involving language competence, cultural insight, and literary acquaintance. Brooks further describes the proficiency test, which is our major concern here, as one which is prepared without regard for specific current or previous learnings and is based rather upon uses to which the new language is customarily put.

Lambert and his associates at McGill University report that in their studies of bilingualism, the first step was to develop a means of measuring individual variations in bilingual skills.[3] This work assumed that linguistic habits revealed in tests calling for speed of response would be accepted as habits of strength. It was hypothesized that students with different amounts of study experience in a second language should show a corresponding facility in responding with the second language when required to. It was found that students at three progressively more advanced stages of experience with French showed progressively greater speed of responding to directions given them in French. The speed of response measure correlated highly with active vocabulary in French. Lambert also discovered that one's degree of bilingualism is reflected in his ability to perceive and to make efficient use of the words in either language. That is, a person can show equal facility in his two languages and yet be comparatively limited in both languages.

In his presentation, "Some Principles of Testing in Language Instruction,"[4] John Carroll observes that primarily in studies of bilingualism, investigators have measured a child's reaction time to words in his native language and to words in his second language, then formed a ratio between the measurements to find out the relative strength of the separate systems.

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[2] Nelson Brooks, *Language and Language Learning*, Second Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964), p. 273.

[3] W. E. Lambert, "Measurement of the Linguistic Dominance of Bilinguals," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (1955), pp. 50, 197–200.

[4] *Report of the Fourth Annual Round Table on Linguistics and Language Teaching*, Monograph Series, Number 4, September 1953 (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press), p. 9.

The foresight of L. E. Dostert[5] in 1953 was indicated when he brought to light the need for and possibility of a special tape machine to be used to assess the oral production of students. He explained that such a machine would provide a two-track tape by means of which the stimulus could be heard on one track, and the response could then be recorded on a second track. He went on to say that such a test could provide a measure of the keenness of auditory perception and ability to distinguish between sounds of the second language.

Lado[6] states that each of the elements of language constitutes a variable which should be tested, e.g., pronunciation, grammatical structure, the lexicon, and cultural meanings. He further explains that pronunciation is made up of sound segments, or phonemes, intonation and its borders, stress and rhythm sequences. Within the two main subdivisions of grammatical structure, syntax should be given priority in testing. Morphology, then, is tested in connection with syntax.

A general proficiency test should provide a test of the range over the several elements of language. In scoring, it is necessary to choose between more apparent validity but less objectivity and more apparent objectivity and less validity. Linguistic analysis brings light upon the dilemma by locating the linguistic problems confronting the learner. Knowing what an item is testing, the examiner is then left free to choose objective techniques even if outwardly they seem less valid; for if they test the language problems in essentially valid linguistic situations, they are valid items. Validity in language tests depends on the linguistic content of the test and on the situation or technique used to test this content.

The following statement from the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* concerning the lack of adequate tests for language development will suffice in summary:

> Adequate controls and valid pretests and post-tests of ability and achievement subjected to rigorous statistical analysis are missing in most of the research attempted.[7]

Faced with the need for a test of oral language proficiency at the expressive level, and the reality that no such instrument yet existed which was suitable for the preliterate, disadvantaged, Spanish-speaking child, I began the task of developing such a test. Although the test which will be discussed today was developed as a continuum since the initial trials, I will speak of the work in terms of five phases.

Phase One began in September when a test was prepared and pretrials were held with a first-grade class of native English speakers in order to determine if the items elicited the desired responses. Few changes were needed and the first version was ready to be used with the target population.

This first version consisted of three parts. The first part attempted a phonemic analysis by eliciting the English lexicon containing the desired phonemes from

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[5] Ibid., p. 33.

[6] Robert Lado, *Language Testing* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 25.

[7] *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), p. 867.

a picture-stimulus of simple outline drawings. The second part was an attempt to elicit free response particularly to determine range of vocabulary and experiential background. The stimulus was a "surprise box." This was a small box containing five items selected to pique the interest of children and therefore stimulate oral response. The items were a pink and white doll dress, a tin whistle, a metal toy automobile, a plastic wrist watch, and a small cream pitcher. The children were asked to select three items, one at a time, which they wished to talk about. A series of five questions was asked about each item. The third part of the test was a measurement of fluency including syntax, morphology, and the suprasegmental phonemes. The stimulus was a series of three photographs showing children in various pleasurable circumstances, e.g., eating and drinking, playing at school, and playing in groups in the neighborhood. Various ethnic groups indigenous to the Southwest were represented in the photographs.

This first phase of the test was administered to 150 subjects in Project schools using a two-track tape recorder and two microphones. The test was administered individually and required about forty-five minutes per child.

In order for the test to be practical for use by those who would be most concerned with information gained—the classroom teacher and the researcher—it was clear that the test would have to be shortened in terms of time of administration. There also remained the matter of scoring to be dealt with, for in reality few schools have a trained linguist on hand. Even should such a person be available, the time element would be prohibitive.

Based on results of the September administrations, it was decided to eliminate Part II of the original version, due to limited measurable responses.

There is considerable likelihood, however, that this section of the test might prove appropriate for the intermediate age child. Perhaps this possibility can be researched at some future time.

As a result, the need for a shorter oral test with greater validity and objectivity was apparent. Fortunately, the interest and help of Dr. Archibald A. Hill was secured. Dr. Hill, along with Dr. Horn, has provided counsel and support throughout this effort. Phase Two of the development began in November, when Miss Gloria Jameson joined in cooperate effort with Dr. Horn, Dr. Hill, and myself to refine Part I, phonemic problems. Continued exploration of stimuli for what now became Part II was carried on.

It was at this time that Dr. Horn brought to our attention the MacCarta cartridge tape machine which provided a self-operating, two-track timed tape. Immediately we saw the potential of utilizing the capabilities of such a machine to accomplish our purpose, a self-administering recorded oral language assessment, eliminating the problem of examiner variable.

We now moved into Phase Two. With Professor Hill as consultant, the resources of his linguistics library were utilized in developing a revised test. This was recorded on two ten-minute cartridge tapes during December, 1965. Part I, the first ten-minute cartridge, used minimal pairs of sentences for phonemic analysis, with eighty-seven drawings in color, 15″ by 18″, illustrating the examples and test sentences. It was recorded by Miss Jameson, with simple preliminary directions in English and Spanish. The second cartridge tape asked questions about three photographs of children engaged in activities, testing for English fluency in the answers in the areas of direct description, cognition, relationships, and imagination. It was recorded by myself, based on the most successful pictures in my September testing program.

In January, children in Barkley Elementary School, San Antonio, were tested, using two cartridge tape machines and later two four-track tape recorders. In every way possible, objectivity was stressed, for the validating of the test. The original two tapes, Part I and Part II, took approximately twenty-five minutes to administer to each child. With the first six children, the eighty-seven pictures were used with Part I. They were later used partially with several children, and with one child of above average fluency in English. Twenty-one children of a class of twenty-nine were tested. Three had no previous preschool experience, eighteen had 33–40 days in the summer of 1965.

At the end of the second day two results seemed evident: (1) the pictures were valuable for teaching and language drill/development but a handicap in that manual handling of these proved distracting to the child's attention and often delayed his response while the test went ahead; this seemed untrue only where the child was above average in his ability to repeat the English sentence he heard; (2) the two tests were too long for securing the child's best response; and (3) the two tests were too involved to be checked or analyzed by the teacher except by a twenty-minute replaying of the tapes.

As a result of these trials, a third revision was prepared for Phase Three. The resulting ten-minute test contained one set of minimal pair sentences for all the English phonemes checked in Part I and edited questions based on response to the two pictures bringing the most oral language in Part II. A check sheet was also prepared for this revised version, which the test administrator and/or a teacher could use to record and rank the child's responses. The principal and teacher gave the "new" test, in the manner previously described, to another preschool class during the week of January 10–14. This provided additional data on the objectivity and validity of the test and indicated that cutting the entire test to ten minutes impaired the test's validity, since more than one set of phonemic contrasts for production was needed in Part I. In Part II, changing questions used with the pictures prevented the child from becoming familiar with a pattern of response and so having the possibility of building fluency through the discussion of the three pictures. In our opinion, the test should be at least twenty minutes in length to be a valid test of the child's language.

An analysis of the oral English of a helpful sixth-grade boy, Manuel M., who acted as an assistant through the week, was another revealing result of the testing program. He responded to all items in the phonemic analysis, and to all the questions about the pictures, in Part II. After six years in an English-speaking school, his language production hardly differed from that of the children in grade one. Only with additional practice with the examiner did he learn to distinguish as "same" and "different" the words *chop-shop*; *wash-watch;* in the following sentences:

Mother wants to chop.	She watches them.
Mother wants to shop.	She washes them.

When he learned to hear the difference in *chop* and *shop,* and practiced reproducing them, he was able to make this distinction. He learned to distinguish, but not to reproduce, the difference between *wash* and *watch* in ten minutes of drill. The stop-watch he was using to time the children's tests remained *wash* in his reproduction.

Phase Four emerged when a local electronics advisor successfully devised an automated viewer which was electronically timed and synchronized with the recorded test. A series of photographs were made into a filmstrip to accompany the test tapes. Check sheets were developed to accompany Part I and Part II, and an easy quick-scoring system was employed. For purposes of the Research Study involving large numbers, the score form is easily adapted to computer operation.

At this time I would like to demonstrate the two-part test.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEST

The instrument you will view today is designed for Spanish-speaking children to assess the level of proficiency in oral English, including a measure of the principal elements of language: phonemic distinctions, suprasegmental phonemes, morphemes, and syntax.

The test consists of two parts, recorded on two ten-minute tapes. Part I is a test of the more common phonemic differentiations recognized as problems for Spanish speakers learning English. Part II tests fluency, including vocabulary, intonation, stress, rhythm, and juncture.

The two-part test is administered by means of the cartridge recording machine. Part I uses six minutes of a ten-minute two-track cartridge tape with instructions and cues time-spaced on one track; the second track to be used for recording the students' responses. Part II (fluency) begins on the first cartridge and utilizes the remaining four minutes to survey the first sequence of the photograph series.

The second ten-minute cartridge, an extension of the fluency test, contains instructions and questions which accompany the remaining second and third photograph series.

Rationale for Part I

When a listener hears an utterance in a foreign language he is trying to learn, his set of native habits cannot be eliminated at will, and he hears units of sound, words, phrases, and sentences that are those of his own language; that is, he distorts what he hears to fit the rapid-fire perceptions that he habitually hears. Similarly when he attempts to speak in the foreign language, he thinks of the general meaning, the general thread of what he wants to say, but the encoding into language units down to words and phonemes he handles the only way he knows—through the habits of his native language.

The phonemic system is operated through firmly set habits and transferred to the foreign language when the student is learning it. By a systematic comparison of the phonological system of the native language with that of the language to be learned we discover the learning problems. The learning problems constitute the content of the test.

Since mastery of a language problem does not obtain full control at once but is gradual and fluctuating, the pupil may pronounce a sound satisfactorily in a word but again not correctly in another word. It would be more accurate to speak of the percentage of times that the student now handles the problem satisfactorily. Therefore, several items testing the same problem are included herein.

Based on a comparative analysis of the sound systems of English and Spanish, twenty-five problems have been selected to be tested. The phonemic problems are situated in structural contexts and based on the following assumptions:

1. That the average native speaker of English of five years and older is able to hear the significant sound contrasts without special training;
2. That the sound contrasts of a language are significant only if they are used in that language to differentiate words, utterances, and their meanings;
3. That each language has a different set of significant sounds that operate in a system for that language, and therefore two very similar sounds may belong to different phonemes in the systems of two different languages;
4. That a speaker of one language has difficulty hearing sound contrasts in a foreign language when those contrasts are not significant in the sound system of his native language;
5. That progress in mastering the sound system of the foreign language will be shown by increased ability to hear those sound contrasts and to reproduce them from a model.

Rationale for Part II

To test production and be able to assess a student's ability to handle structural features, intonation, stress, juncture, it is necessary to elicit utterances and to determine by observation and analysis where these elements of the language are adequately controlled and where problems for the students occur. The primary problem then is to set up a situation which will stimulate the pupil to respond in such a way as to focus his attention and interest so that he responds in as free and fluent a manner as possible. A conversational setting with pictures which are appealing to the subject, accompanied by verbal stimuli, is the approach used in this test. An attempt has been made to structure the questions so as to involve the pupil personally in the pictured situation. By moving from the literal level—that which is literally observed—into the abstract, opportunity for the expression of various relationships is established; for example, relations having to do with causality, quantity, quality, time, space, and inter-personal relationships. By eliciting from the child his own interpretation of what he sees, there is no right or wrong answer; and he feels free to respond without fear of penalty or failure.

The next developmental stage will be the administration of the test to a larger sample of the population (N=1000) in order to establish at least tentative local norms for disadvantaged Spanish-speaking six-year-olds in Texas.

A MATERIAL WITNESS

Congressman Ben Reifel (South Dakota)

I come to you this afternoon to testify as a material witness in behalf of those who grope unhappily in the America of their ancestors—an America that for them has changed faster materially than they have been able to adjust to culturally in order to avoid death from controllable disease, to reduce sickness from knowledge of elemental sanitation, to alleviate pain of poverty in an affluent society for want of a new ethos, and to cast off a sense of hopelessness that can come from an enriched identification with their God.

Your world, and mine today, is one in which our theme or ethos is to conquer nature; their world is one in which they lived in harmony with nature. Witness the accomplishments of our astronauts in these past months. To put it another way: you and I are future oriented in our total outlook; in their world view they are established in a setting that is concerned primarily with the present—the here and now.

In their world they shared everything they possessed of material things with a wide ranging in-group. In our world we may not be willing so much as to share what we have even with our very immediate family, and so rest homes, nursing homes, old age assistance and other federal-state welfare programs have to be created to fill the gap of human want and misery that result from our impersonal world of acquistiveness.

In our world of conquest and accummulation of personal wealth there are three other items in the system that I should like set in contrast to theirs: our way of looking at the phenomenon we call time, our attitude toward saving, and our habituation to work.

Linguists tell me that the people of every language group come to invent words that singly or properly arranged in groups of two or more define a thing or a situation that is important enough to require description for common cause. In our future oriented society—in our conquering space—a concept of time as we know it is a *sine qua non.* There is no word for time in the Sioux language nor in other Indian tongues which I have had the time to investigate. It is not possible in such a language to translate and convey the meaning of the expression we hear so often, "Time is of the essence." So I remind you again, English needs to be taught not only as to form but particulary as to content; there needs to be quality as well as quantity.

Another item is saving. This is a part of our Puritan ethos; this trait has made us a strong nation. Thus, we are able to come together at this place at this time and confer about TESOL.

The Indians had a long history of living off the land. Their economy was based on food gathering or direct appropriation, call it what you will; they concerned themselves largely with consumption economics. In present day economics we must always take into account the production side as well as the consumption end of the equation. At the time of Columbus' discovery of this part of the world the human souls in it numbered less than a million—the part that is the continental United States now supports two hundred times that population at the highest level of physical well being ever known to man. Traditionally, for them there was no need to save. How do we make English meaningful in this sense?

And the last of the three is work. In our system our social behavior appears to stem from the concept of the nuclear family wherein the father is regarded as the head of the household. It is to him that we look, in the normal household, to "bring home the bacon." If this means long tedious hours, even over a lifetime at a monotonous job, to provide for his family, then that will be his role—an element of our economic way of life we describe as a part of the Calvinistic ethos—a kind of work for work's sake. We must remind ourselves that we come together as beneficiaries of its fruits. In contrast, the Indian, as a product of his living in harmony with nature in a food-gathering economy, developed a system that left to the women long hours of hard work at tedious tasks. His role as protector of the people and provider of the community required that he be a warrior and a hunter. In that role he could not be afforded the luxury of a quiet home life of working in the fields from dawn to dark to clothe and feed his wife and his children. These were tasks allocated to others.

But now, if he will bring from his world what is good to enrich ours and if in turn he will meaningfully discover what is worthy in ours to make us all mutual beneficiaries of the good in both worlds, I submit he will need to make these cultural adjustments of some orientation to the future, of some reasonable modification of his compulsion to share. With these it must surely follow that he will need to accept the American concepts of time, saving, and work.

Any minority of any origin now in our America that is preserving its traditions and is at the same time giving our total life a richer content, be it Negro, Bohemian, Chinese, German, Irish, Jewish—you name it—that minority is at the same time giving priority to our ethos or theme of future orientation with strong underpinnings of our economic concepts of time, saving, and work. Without such concepts meaningfully understood facility with English, however fluent, will have little bearing with respect to the good life that is the goal for our first Americans.

Many have spanned the chasm that separates our two worlds. When this occurs, it adds to our problems because they leave the field. The economy in the Indian communities is too meager to support them. To support their families they must leave. Economically adjusted Indians quickly become socially invisible and they disappear into the multitude that is America. Since they are too few in number, even if they so desired, they do not create viable Chinatowns or other socially adjusted minority enclaves to help their kind to bridge the gap either on the reservation or in the city. Thus, education must be the vehicle that will provide the necessary interchange and interaction.

I hasten to add that you of TESOL alone cannot be charged with this responsibility in this broader field of education. Much will continue to rest with the educationist, the social scientist, the politician, the economist, and still others. But I hope that if one of your purposes in teaching English to speakers of other languages is to give a feeling for our America and what she holds for her children, as well as a fluency in one more language, what I have tried to share with you may provide another dimension to your challenge as you move ahead in your great work.

"THEIR" CULTURE—AND OURS

Clarence Senior

The fundementally important differences between groups of men arise from their different cultural backgrounds. If they have been born into one group, they will eat snails as one of their greatest gastronomic delights; if "brought up" in another culture, they may eat fried steak swimming in catsup. One group will instil in its children the idea of punctuality; its members know that "time is money." Another culture will treat time differently—the more sophisticated Mexican will ask, when a five o'clock meeting is set, "tiempo mexicano o tiempo norteamericano?" His Brazilian counterpart will ask "hora inglesa ou hora brasileira?" The difference, of course, lies in the fact that it was the North Americans who introduced railroads and telephones into Mexico, and the English who performed this function in Brazil. The peasant, who never saw a train or received a telegram, does not need to divide the day into twenty-four units, each divided further into sixty sub-units, each of which is further divided into sixty smaller units. And factory managers in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and other North Central cities are finding that the "hillbillies" (I can use the word because I come from the hills of the Ozarks—but most of you can't) find time clocks and the emphasis on punctuality one of the most distressing aspects of factory life.

Doctors, nurses, and hospital attendants find that the different cultures of their patients bring about varied reactions to stress and pain. Some of their male patients will not drink milk ("milk is for babies"), or patients refuse to eat certain foods because they are "cold" foods, whereas the disease he or she has is defined by his culture as requiring "hot" foods—or *vice versa*. And the adjective has no reference to anything a thermometer might measure.

If one knows at least something about a group's cultural background, one can help persons from that culture more easily, can interpret clues which otherwise might be missed. Examples range from trivial and laughable (between friends) to seriously meaningful.

I once arrived at a breakfast coffee shop counter just as a Puerto Rican friend seated himself and ordered tea. I inquired, "What's the matter, Pedro, are you ill?" Surprised, he answered, "Yes, how did you know?" The YWCA in a midwestern city which gave a welcoming tea for sixty Puerto Rican girls who had just arrived to work in a war industry would have saved itself and the girls some embarrassment if they had known that, in general, Puerto Ricans drink tea only when they are ill. In fact, my Puerto Rican friends tell me that tea was sold only in pharmacies until relatively recently!

A simple but highly meaningful example comes up constantly in school situations. "Look me in the eye!" demands the teacher when she is reprimanding Juanito. But that is exactly what Juanito's culture has taught him *not* to do. One is expected to hang one's head and express contriteness if one has done wrong.

Or the teacher may be astounded at pugnacious reactions between two children one of whom has addressed two simple words—"your mother"—to the other. These are figthing words, since they amount to calling the boy an "s.o.b." in the original Spanish. In fact, it will be just as well for the teacher to speak of "your mama" instead of using the emotion-charged words.

"Mother," in the Spanish language, as the Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico once explained, comes close to being as ineffable as was the word God among the ancient Hebrews.

José Ferrer, the famous Puerto Rican actor and director, and his Turkish pal in the film based on George Papashvili's book, *Anything Can Happen,* gives a fine example of how shifts in letter values can confuse newcomers. He is asked to go get fifty pounds of "duff" by his friend who is making pastry. He demurs and explains that "duff" is not the proper pronunciation. He is convinced by his friend who recalls that *tough* is "tuff" and *rough* is "ruff" and that therefore *dough* must be "duff."

It is obvious that each person has built into his spelling as well as into his other experiences—his habits, his reactions, his ideas, his ideals, his way of eating, living, playing, and praying—those patterns which his group teaches him are the correct ways to conduct himself. If a person has been raised in a different culture, he will have different patterns he is expected to follow. And the more differences there are between the circumstances of our rearing and "theirs," the more different these expressions of culture are likely to be. In other words, I have just defined culture by giving examples of its expression. One of the many formal definitions used by social scientists is: "patterns of living."

How do we acquire culture? A baby begins to be subjected to the learning process as soon as he begins to react to others in his environment. He slowly, and sometimes painfully, learns what to expect in return for a given symbol, verbal or non-verbal. He learns what is "right" and what is "wrong" by the results of his trial-and-error groping for satisfactory relationships with those about him. As his circle broadens from family to relatives, to neighbors, to peers, and to strangers, he acquires most of the habits of thinking and acting which are to guide him through life. If he is fortunate, he will be reared to accept few immutable beliefs about life and about other human beings, and with an intense curiosity about how things actually work and how people really act.

One of the things the social scientists says, of course, is what Rogers and Hammerstein expressed so well in their song from *South Pacific:*

> You've got to be taught
>   before it's too late,
> To hate all the people
>   your relatives hate.

In orther words, no child is born with a prejudiced feeling toward any other human being. An Irish friend once sent me the following jingle:

> God made the Irish,
> The devil made the Dutch;
> Whoever made the English,
> Didn't make much!

Under it he wrote, "My mother taught me that!" One who understands the history of Ireland knows that the sentiment expressed is very much a part of the Irish culture.

Culture is one of the key concepts essential to education. Culture is learned behavior; man is a creation of his culture. "Human nature" is an expression of culture and is therefore an expression of learned behavior. One of the big problems between "culturally different" groups arises from a fallacy known as ethnocentrism. This is an old synonym for "group centeredness." It has now been described and analyzed by social scientists and is understood to be part of the "natural" behavior of mankind. It is by applying intelligence and self and social control to "natural" actions that man becomes human, however. We now know that we must become aware of the process by which we acquire our habits, our feelings, our ideas, and especially our assessment of "strangers." We must become aware of the fact that if a stranger comes from another ethnic, racial, national, religious, or class group, he may well have habits, feelings, ideas, and ideals which do not coincide exactly with our own. My mother used to refer to the clothing or behavior of someone she didn't like as "outlandish." It was years before I learned that this was an expression of ethnocentrism. And I suspect she would have been rather upset, being a good "practicing Christian," to know that what she was actually saying was that the person was, or was acting as, an "outsider." Intellectually, she agreed with both Leviticus and the Book of Matthew, which counsel us to love both strangers and neighbors. Emotionally, she was expressing her ethnocentrism.

We in the school systems of big cities have for years been called upon to help newcomers, either from abroad or from the rural areas of our own country, find the way to live without undue stress and strain in a new environment, in which many aspects of the network of expectations which is human life will be new and strange. And we still have this task today. Basic to an understanding of the newcomers and to programs for helping them is the realization that successful urban living involves a variety of patterns of learned behavior. The newcomer must learn, and learn rapidly, how to cope with new and strange problems. Habits learned in different, and usually simpler, surroundings do not make for satisfactory results in the new environment. Customary ways of making a living, keeping house, raising children, visiting friends and neighbors, playing and worshipping, may all, and all at one time, be called into question. Matters treated casually in the old environment may, in the new, suddenly become invested with high emotional content (e.g., disposal of refuse). Added to all these puzzling changes often goes the reduction in self-esteem which comes from being labelled as a "problem," from being treated as a member of a conspicuous minority instead of as a person.

It is precisely at this critical point that most receiving communities cannot answer a crucial question: Who, or what institution, in our community is responsible for helping the newcomer learn the new patterns of behavior? Who, indeed, is prepared to teach the people of the receiving community to cope with new situations: to understand the role of the migrant in helping maintain their economy, for example?

It is at this point that we must take great care to guard against ethnocentrism in general. Especially when we deal with persons speaking another language, we are apt to become demanding and not realize that we may be seeming to ask a person to give up one of the most precious parts of his heritage. Most of us learned during the disastrous period of the "melting pot" approach to Americanization that we should not attempt to *shame* newcomers into repudiating their cultural background, to "forget the old country," and to discard the mother tongue and its songs and its poems.

While most of the teachers and administrators I encounter possess splendid attitudes toward what some persons patronizingly call the "culturally deprived" child, others act as though the second word in that label should be spelled with an "a" and the modifier dropped. The Educational Policies Commission report, *Education and the Disadvantaged American*, puts the matter succinctly:

> Despite their better judgment, people of another background often feel that disadvantaged children are by nature perverse, vulgar or lazy. Children sense quickly the attitudes of school people toward them, and they retaliate against condescension or intolerance with hostility, absenteeism and failure.[1]

The middle-class culture of the teacher provides him or her with this ethnocentric outlook unless either pre-service or in-service training has provided sufficient inoculation through anthropology or sociology—or up-to-date psychology. Unfortunately, application of out-dated psychology used on many of the so-called "intelligence" tests often buttresses and confirms the teachers' prejudices.

Actually, in many of our contacts with "culturally different" persons, it is the inadequacy of our own culture which is being exposed. We confuse *race* and culture, for example, but *race,* correctly used, is only a biological classificatory term. It is not race itself but our culturally influenced reactions to race which are socially significant.

Any teacher, to be successful and to deserve the proud title of *teacher,* must be warm and understanding, and must achieve *empathy* with his or her pupils. Notice I do not say *sympathy*—which is something bestowed upon the unfortunate, and therefore, likely to be interpreted as condescension—and resented.

A particularly flagrant example of inexcusable conduct on the part of a teacher of an "integrated" class was brought to my attention the other day. Cookies were being sold, two for a penny, to go with the mid-morning milk. Each white child reached into the box and chose two. The teacher stopped the Negro children and had them point to the kind they wanted so that she could pick them up and hand them to the child.

It is particularly necessary to try to achieve empathy with the newcomer. First, moving can be traumatic. A few years ago comments of children who were about to shift to a new school were collected. "The majority of children approached revealed concerns, worries, fears or resentments," says the report. Some of the comments were:

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[1] *Education and the Disadvantaged American* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, 1962), p. 19.

> I don't know what *she* will want me to do.
> I don't want everyone eyeing me when I go in.
> I don't know where the toilet is and probably the boys won't tell me.
> I'll probably get lost in that big building.
> Maybe no one will like me; I'm not very pretty.
> Maybe the kids will bump me off at recess.
> I'm afraid my clothes won't be right.
> I probably won't get into one of the gangs.[2]

These comments were made by middle-class, "American" children, not by minority group "outsiders" such as Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, or by the children of recently-arrived immigrants. They are some of the millions of youngsters who move with their parents as part of the thirty million of our citizens who are registered each year as moving their homes either within county lines (technically, "movers") or across them (the migrants).

Second, we are often introducing into the life of the child an element which may make life in the family more difficult. An aspect of school-family relations which needs to be more widely understood is the entrance into what Alfred Adler called "the family constellation" of a rival source of authority to the father or the mother. This is quickly seen in the report of a school teacher to a conference in Cincinnati:

> It must be trying to be somebody who is just coming to Cincinnati. The adjustment must be terrific. . . . We were trying to learn how to do a quick job of dishwashing. The girls were very proud of themselves. One girl expressed herself: "Well, I want to tell you what my mother said. She won't let me wash dishes this way because it is just a lot of nonsense. But you know what I do? My mother likes to go to the movies. Every time she goes it's my job to wash the dishes. I say, you just go on, and wait until she is gone and then wash dishes *our* way."[3]

The girls had come from the Eastern Kentucky mountains. The report also deals with many of the other difficulties of family "adjustment" to life in the big city.

Each newcomer group will have many similarities with both immigrants and other internal migrants. There will, of course, be cultural differences which arise from different habits learned in different surroundings. Understanding the culture of the newcomers and also our own is essential if we as educators are to contribute our share to helping them make the kind of economic, social, political and cultural contribution they are capable of making, just as did our 43,000,000 immigrant ancestors.

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[2] *When Children Move from School to School* (Washington, D. C.: Association for Childhood Education International, 1960), p. 4.

[3] *The Southern Mountaineer in Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, 1954), p. 22.

IV. Materials: Their Preparation and Use

W. NELSON FRANCIS
The Brown University Standard Corpus of English: Some Implications for TESOL

ROBERT J. DI PIETRO
Operational and Taxonomic Models in Language Teaching

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THE BROWN UNIVERSITY STANDARD CORPUS OF ENGLISH: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR TESOL

W. Nelson Francis

It will become apparent as I go along that such implications as the Brown Standard Corpus has for the teaching of English to speakers of other languages will be for the written language rather than for the spoken language. In fact, since the Brown corpus was selected entirely from edited English, the only examples of the spoken language which it contains are the secondary type that appear in dialogue in samples of fiction. Since these, too, are rather specialized, being drawn not only from standard fiction but from such types as science fiction and detective stories and frequently representing what any self-respecting teacher of English as a second language would consider substandard dialect, even these are not the best material for teaching conversational English.

Since I am much more familiar with the corpus than I am with teaching English as a second language, most of my time here will be given to describing the corpus and discussing briefly some of the frequency counts and statistical studies which are being made at Brown, principally by Professor Henry Kučera and his students. At the end, I will try to draw some rather amateurish conclusions as to how this material might be of some use, if not to those primarily engaged in teaching English as a second language, at least to those who prepare textbooks and materials for their use.

To begin with, what is here called the Brown University Corpus is more fully called "A Standard Sample of Present Day Edited American English for Use with Digital Computers." All parts of this title require a little explanation because they all are descriptive of some important aspect of this corpus. To begin at the end, the phrase 'for use with digital computers' reminds us that the corpus can only be used or interpreted by certain kinds of data-processing equipment. Furthermore, although it can be readily printed out by such equipment, we can not furnish people with printed copies of the corpus because of copyright restrictions under which we were operating. Next, to go back to the beginning of the title, the corpus is *standard* only in the sense that it can be used variously by various people for various purposes with results that will be comparable because they all used the same body of language to work from. The sample is of *present day* English, a term which we interpreted in the literal sense. So far as we were able to tell, all parts of the corpus were first printed in the calendar year 1961. It is *American* English, which we defined roughly as English written by Americans and printed in the United States. Since some of the material is anonymous and some of it is by authors about whom biographical information was not readily available, it is quite likely that a small fraction of the total corpus of over a million words may have been written by non-Americans. But, in general, the title 'American' is valid. Finally, it is *edited* English, that is, English which has been prepared, with more or less care, for print and printed. There is no oral English taken down from oral discourse, nor is there any of the informal kind of English which appears in letters, diaries, and similar documents. It is for this reason that I am skeptical about the value of this corpus for those interested in teaching the spoken language.

The total size of the corpus is 1,014,312 graphic words of running text, divided into 500 samples, averaging a little over 2,000 words each. Most of the samples consist of a single continuous extract from a longer text. Some of them, however, especially those taken from newspapers, are made up of a series of shorter unrelated pieces. The samples are distributed among fifteen major categories ranging from newspaper reporting to scientific journals. A list of these categories and some of the subcategories underneath them, along with the total number of 2,000-word samples in each, is given at the end of this paper in Appendix A. You will see that the apportionment to the various categories is irregular; it was based on the subjective judgments of a group of people called together in conference at the beginning of the preparation of the corpus. As you can see, a wide variety of prose types and hence of prose styles are represented—a fact which has turned out to be of considerable interest and significance in some of the statistical studies which have been made. The material was transferred to the magnetic tape through the medium of punched cards which reproduced all the graphic features of the original sources insofar as they could be coded for the much more limited graphic resources of the computer. No analysis or pre-editing of any sort was incorporated with the material, so that it represents raw text as close as the computer format would permit to the printed sources from which it was taken. Its virtues and advantages over other samples of data which might be used are primarily the controlled selection of the material and the care with which it was prepared. All selections went through at least three proofreadings, and errors discovered even subsequently to the preparation of the tape have been corrected, so that we can be moderately confident that very few mistakes of transcription survive. Errors, or suspected errors, in the original material were, of course, allowed to stand, but they have all been listed in a manual which accompanies all copies of the magnetic tape. We have asked users of the tape to inform us of other apparent errors that they may discover, but so far none have been reported, although there are sixteen copies of the tape already in use.

It will be seen that, in its basic form, the corpus is nothing more nor less than an anthology of American prose from the year 1961. It differs from other available anthologies perhaps in three principal ways: first, the breadth of scope of its sources and subject matter; second, the arbitrary length of its selections, many of which begin and virtually all of which end in the middle of a larger connected passage; and, third, in its format, which makes it totally inaccessible to the ordinary reader. What then are the advantages of having such a sample available in this form? In order to understand these, we need to have a general notion of what the computer can do and what it can't do. For our purposes, the important things that it can do are to count things, to compare things, to sort things, and to find things; all of these at very great speed and with almost perfect accuracy. But before it can do any of these things, it must be programmed; that is, a person who knows one of the languages devised for communication between humans and computers must write out a detailed set of rules instructing the computer minute step by minute step in what he wants it to do. Since this is a painstaking and time-consuming process and duplication is to be avoided, we have gone ahead to extract various kinds of information from the corpus that we thought would be of interest and use to various people. In the first place, we made an index. This is an alphabetical list of all the words in the corpus, each followed by the location markers indicating just where in the corpus all the instances of each word are to be found. This, of course, is a primary tool to any kind of word study of the contents of the corpus. It is, however, very bulky. No one has actually seen it, since it is contained only on magnetic computer tape, but we estimate that if it were printed out it would fill 3,000 pages of ordinary computer printout paper. We hope to get another grant from the U. S. Office of Education, which supported the original preparation of the corpus, so that we can print a limited number of copies of this index, which conveys a certain amount of interesting and useful information to those who know how to use it.

The second thing we have done, which brings us closer to the purpose of this discussion, is to count the number of occurrences of each distinct word or type in the corpus and sort these in two ways: the first, like the index, is alphabetical, but instead of giving the location of each occurrence of each word, it simply gives a number indicating the total number of occurrences of that word in the million-word corpus. This is the alphabetical frequency list. The second re-sorts this list in order of frequency beginning with the most frequent word, which is the definite article *the* occurring nearly 70,000 times, and ending with the words that appear only once, of which there are 22,589, making up approximately forty-five percent of the total vocabulary but less than three percent of the total corpus. These word counts we expect will be of such interest that they are to be published along with a group of statistical studies in a book to be issued by the Brown University Press in January 1967. It will then be possible for interested persons to compare them with other word counts, such as the Lorge-Thorndike. It is doubtless these frequency counts which have the most pertinent implications for the teaching of English as a second language, and I shall pick out some points of interest from them to discuss later in this paper.

A third thing we have done at Brown is to prepare a program which makes it possible to produce readily and at relatively little expense a concordance of any word or group of words desired. In its present form, this program simply prints out each occurrence of the specified word with from ten to twenty words of context on either side. Concordances of this sort are useful primarily for lexical studies, including studies of the influence of context on meaning and investigations of the collocations of words, that is, of what word goes with what. It is, of course, possible to make a complete concordance of the whole corpus, but this would cost more than it would be worth. Such a concordance would run to something like thirty million words or about twenty volumes of four hundred pages each. At present, it seems best for concordances of individual words to be made as they are wanted. When the complete word index to the corpus has become available, it will be relatively easy for anyone to do this by means of a very simple look-up program. Meanwhile, we can make a limited number of concordances for those who are willing to meet the not inconsiderable expense of programming and machine time.

The corpus can, of course, be used for other kinds of linguistic investigation besides lexical studies. In fact, when we first contemplated making it, we had in mind that it would be more useful for grammatical work than lexical. But grammatical study requires much more complicated and sophisticated programming than do the relatively simple counting and sorting procedures used to produce word lists, frequency tables, and concordances. It may turn out in the long run, however, that studies of this sort will be the most interesting and revealing that result from the preparation of the corpus.

Now let me devote a few minutes to one or two implications which the corpus might have for teaching English as a second language. For the present, these lie almost entirely in the field of vocabulary. The obvious difference between learning a language in the way a native speaker does and being taught a language is the amount of control that is exercised over the sample of the language to which the learner is exposed. The child learning his native language is, as it were, bathed in a continuous stream of language, from which by processes that we are only just beginning to investigate, he extracts the information that he needs to construct a grammar for himself and to acquire a useful working vocabulary. The person being taught a language is more or less systematically exposed to a more or less carefully selected sample of the language, which has as its aim to present those structural features and those items of vocabulary which the teacher considers will be most useful for the learner to learn as soon as possible. An obvious conclusion is to select those features and those vocabulary items which occur more frequently than others and hence are presumably more useful and more necessary to the person who is learning to speak the language. It is in this connection that our frequency studies of the Brown corpus may have some interesting implications. At the end of the paper in Appendix B, I have listed the twenty-two most frequent words in the corpus, together with the total number of times each of these occurs. Since the total vocabulary of the corpus is over 50,000 different words, these twenty-two make only 4/100 of one percent of the total vocabulary. Yet amongst them, they account for nearly one-third of the total running words of the corpus. In other words, every third word you encounter in the text, on the average, is one of these twenty-two. Looking at the list, you can see immediately that all twenty-two are what commonly are called function words. That is, they belong to the class of words which primarily serve to indicate the grammatical structure of the sentence, rather than to convey its principal meaning. Because words of this sort belong to relatively small closed classes and because they exercise this important grammatical function, we expect them to be of high frequency. It is, in fact, not until we come to word No. 64 on the list that we reach a word which is unmistakably a lexical word, and that is the word *new*. The sixty-three words ahead of it on the list account for nearly forty percent of the total running text. The person who knew these words would know two out of five words that he encountered in any passage of running text, but he wouldn't have the slightest idea what the text was about. You simply cannot make intelligible discourse out of function words.

It is immediately apparent that if the learning student is to be presented with meaningful samples of the language he is learning, the principle of governing the vocabulary according to frequency must be compromised. In order to show how far it must be compromised, I have selected at random a couple of short paragraphs from textbooks prepared for use in teaching English to non-native speakers. (See material in Appendix C.) The first sentence, from the beginning book of the *English for Today* series, contains function words ranging from No. 1, the definite article, which occurs nearly 70,000 times in a million-word corpus, to No. 180, the auxiliary *does,* which occurs 485 times. The lexical words show an even greater range—from No. 199, the verb *put,* occurring 437 times in the corpus, to the word *blouses,* which occurs only once and is, hence, one of the more than 22,000 words of unique occurrence. I have given the median frequency of these as 39,157. In other words, in terms of vocabulary frequency alone, a person would on the average have to have a vocabulary of nearly 40,000 words to be sure of knowing all the individual words in this sentence. If you are wondering about the singular of the word *blouses,* that too occurs only once and, therefore, does not reduce the size of the vocabulary needed by very much. The second sentence, from a more advanced book, does not have any items that happen to be unique in the corpus, but it has the words *colloquial* and *waitress,* each of which appears only twice. The size of vocabulary needed (statistically speaking) if one is to know all these words is approximately 25,000. It is obvious that the vocabularies used in introductory texts must be skewed in the direction of items that lend themselves to the kind of sentence that learners may want to know.

Admittedly, I have somewhat rigged this demonstration, but I think it does show two things—first, that you cannot make interesting sentences and varied discourse wholly out of high frequency words; and second, that some control over the frequency of the items which you use is desirable. I hope that the Brown corpus, and especially the frequency studies based on it to be published before long, will prove useful in this regard.

Appendix A

BROWN STANDARD CORPUS: CATEGORIES

I. INFORMATIVE PROSE

A. Press: Reportage	44
Political	
Sports	
Spot News	
Society	
Cultural	
Financial	
B. Press: Editorial	27
Institutional Editorials	
Individual Columns	
Letters to the Editor	
C. Press: Reviews	17
D. Religion	17
E. Skills and Hobbies	36
F. Popular Lore	48
G. Belles Lettres, Biography, Memoirs, etc.	75
H. Miscellaneous	30
Government Documents	
Law Cases	
Industry Reports	
Foundation Reports	
House Organs	
J. Learned	80
Physical Sciences	
Mathematics	
Life Sciences	
Medicine	
Political Sciences and Law	
Behavioral Sciences	
Philosophy	
Literary Criticism and Scholarship	
Art and Music Criticism and Scholarship	
Technology and Engineering	

II. IMAGINATIVE PROSE

K. General Fiction	29
L. Mystery and Detective Fiction	24
M. Science Fiction	6
N. Adventure and Western Fiction	29
P. Romantic and Love Story Fiction	29
R. Humor	9

Average Length of Samples 2029 words.

Appendix B

BROWN STANDARD CORPUS: TWENTY-TWO MOST FREQUENT WORDS

Rank	*Word*	*No. of Occurrences*	*Cumulative % of Corpus*	*Rank*	*Word*	*No. of Occurrences*	*Cumulative % of Corpus*
1.	the	69970	6.898	12.	it	8756	26.054
2.	of	36410	10.488	13.	with	7289	26.773
3.	and	28851	13.333	14.	as	7250	27.488
4.	to	26149	15.911	15.	his	6997	28.178
5.	a	23237	18.202	16.	on	6742	28.843
6.	in	21341	20.306	17.	be	6377	29.471
7.	that	10595	21.351	18.	at	5378	30.002
8.	is	10099	22.347	19.	by	5304	30.525
9.	was	9816	23.315	20.	I	5173	31.035
10.	he	9543	24.256	21.	this	5146	31.542
11.	for	9489	25.191	22.	had	5133	32.048

Appendix C

SAMPLE PARAGRAPHS

I. Sentences from *English for Today, Book 1,* p. 118

RANK			6	1	757	41	199	16	277
NO. IN ONE MILLION WORDS			21341	69970	134	2653	437	6742	333
WORD			In	the	summer	we	put	on	light
RANK	5060	41	3630	277	13297	1800	39157	3	
NO.	20	2653	36	333	5	62	1	28851	
WORD	clothing.	We	wear	light	stockings,	cool	blouses	and	
RANK	3080	15450	1	1577	180	23	392	114	
NO.	38	4	69970	69	485	4609	240	796	
WORD	cotton	skirts.	The	weather	does	not	change	very	
RANK	96	307	710						
NO.	937	302	130						
WORD	much.	It's	hot.						

II. Sentence from Crowell, *Modern English Workbook,* p. 12

RANK	75	241	18654		6	24243	493	8	
NO.	1319	377	3		21341	2	195	10099	
WORD	My	present	proficiency		in	colloquial	English	is	
RANK	714	4	5	140	949	4	5083	5	
NO.	142	26149	23237	665	110	26149	19	23237	
WORD	due	to	a	great	extent	to	Eve,	a	
RANK	24243	46	44	43	75	8825	15450	11	1
NO.	2	2252	2439	2472	1319	9	4	9489	69970
WORD	waitress	who	has	been	my	unpaid	tutor	for	the
RANK	332	151	94						
NO.	281	610	949						
WORD	past	three	years.						

OPERATIONAL AND TAXONOMIC MODELS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Robert J. Di Pietro

There is, at present, no agreement among experts as to what model of language analysis is most appropriate to the preparation of teaching materials. John Carroll, the eminent psychologist, has recently (1966) disclaimed any empirical evidence supporting the superiority of a specific model. Noam Chomsky (1966) is even more extreme in questioning the relevance of linguistics to language teaching at all. As a matter of fact, Chomsky goes as far as to doubt even the relatedness of psychological experiments in concept formation to the actual processes underlying the learning of languages. Charles Ferguson (1966) writing in the same series of reports for the Northeast Conference, states that "linguistics has nothing directly to say about how grammatical systems should be taught." The common denominator to the seemingly disjointed pronouncements of the three scholars, Carroll, Chomsky, and Ferguson, is that language teaching remains language teaching, and is neither a branch of psychology nor of linguistics. However, before the language teacher can relax totally and decide to ignore his colleagues, the psychologist and the linguist, it is equally clear that he cannot progress in the preparation of teaching materials without the body of information and data which flows almost daily from both psychology and linguistics. Speaking as a linguist, I can say that it is of great relevance to the field of linguistics to know about the performance of a linguistic model in the teaching situation. The classroom remains the most appropriate place to test the validity of linguistic theories.

It is also apparent that any modern teaching approach is based at least implicitly on one or more linguistic models. For the purposes of classification, I have chosen the titles "taxonomic" and "operational" to define what I consider to be the two major types of linguistic models applicable to the field of language teaching today. Taxonomic models subsume any approach to language that is basically descriptive. Language is viewed by the taxonomist as a body or corpus of utterances manifesting an underlying structure. The learner of the language is exposed in steps to that structure through the sentences and smaller grammatical forms analyzed by the linguist. In the field of English, the work done by Charles C. Fries is a monument to taxonomy. The technique of the testing frame used to separate parts of speech pervades his book, *The Structure of English.* The present audience will agree that Fries' book has affected the field of English as a foreign language in many ways.

The operational model, on the other hand, considers language as a functioning system. A claim is made to account for the creativity of the native speaker in his constant invention of new utterances. If a corpus of sentences is used at all in the preparation of the materials, it is only as a check-list to verify the accuracy of the rules. All transformational grammars would be considered operational in this way. It is possible that other contemporary models, such as tagmemics, should also be classified as operational. The research of the tagmemicist, Robert E. Longacre (1965), although avowedly taxonomic, shows a tendency to incorporate transformations. To my knowledge, however, tagmemics has not yet been utilized in the preparation of language textbooks. It remains primarily a tool of the linguist in his field work.

In an attempt to explain the differences between taxonomic and transformational statements, Owen Thomas (1965) equates taxonomy to the description of a light switch in either the "on" or "off" position, while transformational rules are like the description of how the switch is turned from one position to the other. In other words, taxonomy is concerned primarily with states of being, such as the categories of noun, verb, adjective, etc. and their defining statements. Operational models present the rules about the language which, if accurate, direct the user of the model to produce novel sentences.

There are as yet few texts available which exclusively follow an operational model. A conspicuous example is Paul Roberts' *English Syntax,* directed primarily at the native-speaking high school student. A series of rules is presented which purport to cover the facts of the language "that its speakers know intuitively" (Introduction, ix). In the eyes of the transformationalists, taxonomic models fall short of this desired goal because, as Chomsky (1966) puts it, "ordinary linguistic behavior involves innovation, formation of new sentences and new patterns in accordance with rules of great abstractness and intricacy" (p. 44). Mim-mem drills and patterned exercises are not really appropriate because repetitions rarely occur in natural, free speech. In the same vein, Thomas (1965) suggests that the ideal form of language study is discovery rather than memorization. Ferguson (1966) counters with the statement that only the linguist must be able to talk *about* the language. The language student's goal is to be able to *use* the language. The analogy between the "internalized generative grammar" of Chomsky (1966) and the native speaker is certainly questionable in view of the relatively few linguistically unsophisticated native speakers who can be explicit about how they produce sentences.

In the absence of empirical evidence, there is at least wide-spread agreement among language teachers that uniformly taxonomic models have been far more successful as the bases for the preparation of oral-aural materials than the inconsistent models of grammar-translation. It is altogether possible that operational models may prove even more effective. For the language teacher, the superiority of any model, taxonomic or operational, must be measured in terms of how well the student performs the desired tasks at the end of the course of instruction. The generalization that students tend to learn what is taught them has not always been apparent to evaluators of the models.

Regardless of personal preferences for operational models in linguistic analysis, the question of adaptability to language teaching remains an open one. I am hopeful that experimentation in the classroom will not only answer pedagogical needs, but will also have favorable repercussions in linguistics. There are many problems to be solved in the design of meaningful experiments. The matters of age, sex, economic and cultural background, etc. must be kept as constant as possible. Each taxonomic and operational model must then be combined with a series of psychological models in the presentation of the material. Harlan Lane (1966) suggests several psychological models which are appropriate to language teaching. Finally, the results must be evaluated according to the same set of criteria in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. To date, several variables in the evaluation of linguistic models remain uncontrolled. For one, there are no complete formulations of a language. If it remains impossible to achieve comprehensiveness in grammatical statement, then the parts of the language covered should be uniform for each model. The problems of inconsistency in grammar are especially thorny. We must assume, at least at the outset, that a linguistic model is consistent within itself. Otherwise, the statements presented to the student will be misleading, and comparison with other models will be impossible.

Many language texts are eclectic in their treatment of grammar. Conflicting statements about specific grammatical points foster a distrust in any of the statements presented.

If the pyschological models and the variables of age, sex, etc. are kept constant, and the goals of the course are clearly stated, then and only then can the appropriateness of linguistic models in language teaching be evaluated.

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COMPOSING PATTERN PRACTICE DRILLS

Andrew MacLeish

Tight control over phonology and vocabulary is a necessity in oral language drills. But maximum control over these two elements will be useless if the drills in which they occur are inconsistent in their construction and, thus, too difficult because of disorganization. Control over vocabulary and phonology is only supplementary to control over the construction and sequencing of oral exercises used to drill a given grammatical structure.

Few EFL texts provide enough drills with which to practice a given structural problem. And, frequently, in the texts familiar and available overseas, what drills there are are so badly constructed as to be chaotic for both teacher and student. Thus, it is inevitable that, sooner or later, at home or abroad, the TEFL is called upon to compose his own pattern practices to supplement available materials.

Accordingly, it is appropriate that we consider some of the problems likely to arise in composing pattern practices. We will examine construction, relative ease and difficulty, adaptability to practicing different grammatical patterns, and the relationships among parts of the drill.

Pattern practice drills require of the student that he perform, at a given time, any one of five operations basic to the manipulation of English structures: (1) he must repeat all or part of a drill sentence; (2) he can delete structural segments from a sentence or from a part of it; (3) he can add something to the sentence; (4) he can replace something in the sentence; or (5) he can rearrange the order of sentence elements.

Little has been said in teaching manuals or in textbooks, either explicitly or implicitly, about the fact that the order of presentation of these operations in an entire lesson is just as important as is the presentation of vocabulary and sounds. Further, while the purpose of pattern drill is to practice the pattern resulting from the change rather than the change itself, the student must be aware of the relationship between the sentence to be changed and the resulting sentence. And the teacher must be able to systematically order the obligatory secondary changes which result from basic changes such as expansion and deletion.

In constructing pattern practice drills, then, the teacher must ask himself not only what the purpose of the drill is, but how he can reduce the learning process to a series of minimally-difficult steps through control of sentence length, the number and kind of changes the student is expected to make at a given point in the drill, the relative difficulty of the drill format, and the order in which various kinds of drills must be arranged.

The multitude of different pattern practices often makes it difficult to decide which drills to use for which patterns and how to sequence these drills. The TEFL can organize his thinking about them by classifying them in accordance with the basic changes that may be made on a frame sentence: deletion, replacement, expansion, and rearrangement of the order of elements in the frame.

Further, he can use these four changes to control the difficulty a student will have in going through a sequence of drills. First, deletion is an easier, and less frequent, change than transformation. Replacement and addition are probably more difficult than deletion, but easier than rearrangement. Next, he can easily assume that one change in a pattern is easier than two, two easier than three, and so forth. Third, cues which provide complete expansions or replacements are easier than those which demand partial recall by the student of a pattern previously learned. Fourth, changes are easier to make at the end of a frame than at the beginning, easier at the beginning than in the middle. Finally, wholly new structures are more difficult than structures which parallel patterns previously learned.

The two most important processes in pattern practice are replacement and expansion. They can be adapted to practice any grammatical structure at any level of difficulty. Which of these two kinds of drills is most suitable after simple repetition exercises depends upon the structure the TEFL wishes to teach. If the new structure can be created by addition to the kernel sentence, especially if modification in a critical position is involved, then either a replacement or expansion drill is suitable. If the pattern being drilled does not involve modification, then only replacement drills are necessary.

Here are some examples of a few of the structures that can be practiced by either replacement or expansion. Example (b) is in each case more difficult.

REPLACEMENT

Grammatical Focus		*Frames*	*Cues*	*Response*
Modals	a)	They should work tomorrow.	can/must	They can work tomorrow.
	b)	They should work tomorrow.	will/shall	They would work tomorrow.
Yes/No Questions	a)	Can they work?	must/do	Do they work?
	b)	Can they work?	must/will	Would they work?
Tag Questions	a)	He worked, didn't he?	came/went	He went, didn't he?
	b)	He worked, didn't he?	come/go	He went, didn't he?
Present Perfect	a)	He's just worked.	gone/started	He's just gone.
	b)	He's just worked.	go/start	He's just gone.
Pre-Determiners	a)	All of the ladies are beautiful.	many of	Many of the ladies are beautiful.
	b)	All of the ladies are beautiful	many	Many of the ladies are beautiful.
Comparatives	a)	He is smarter than I.	taller	He is taller than I.
	b)	He is smarter than I.	tall	He is taller than I.

EXPANSION

Modals	a) They cry continually.	can	They can cry continually.
	b) We ran continually.	will	We'll run continually.
Yes/No Questions	a) They run fast.	do	Do they run fast?
	b) They ran fast.	do	Did they run fast?
Tag Questions	a) Mary can study.		Mary can study, can't she?
	b) She studies hard.		She studies hard, doesn't she?
Present Perfect	a) Bill climbed up.	have	Bill's climbed up.
	b) They ran.	have	They've run.
Pre-Determiners	a) The girls are nice.	some of	Some of the girls are nice.
	b) The girl is nice.	some	Some of the girls are nice.
Comparatives	a) He is smart.	as I	He's as smart as I.
	b) He is smart.	I	He's as smart as I.

The difference between these two kinds of drills is that, in replacement exercises, the position of substitution is always signalled by a segment in the frame structurally parallel to the cue, the replacing segment. In one kind of expansion exercise, nothing explicitly signals the position to be expanded:

The gril came home.	at the party	The girl at the party came home.

In another kind of expansion exercise, the cue includes a word on one side or the other of the item to be inserted:

The girl came home.	girl at the party	The girl at the party came home.

As these previous patterns can be drilled by either replacement or expansion, patterns such as the following can be drilled only by replacement exercises:

He looked good.	seemed	He seemed good.
	was	He was good.
	felt	He felt good.
He earned money.	fame	He earned fame.
	praise	He earned praise.
	pay	He earned pay.

Such sentences have two characteristics. First, they cannot be reduced to simpler sentences, and, second, the positions to be replaced contain words belonging to large classes with few problems of sub-class selection. In the last patterns above almost any nouns or transitive verbs can fit the appropriate slots as long as we allow for semantic requirements. Sentences more complex than this usually use words with a fairly limited distribution. In a sentence such as

They painted the house white.

painted belongs to a large class of verbs, a smaller sub-class of transitive verbs, an even smaller class which can be followed by two complements in the relationship "direct object-object complement," and a yet smaller sub-class of verbs in which the object complement is an adjectival.

In the simplest sentences, then, replacement drills are the ones to use. In longer sentences, both replacement and expansion drills are possible. Each has a particular utility. Replacement drills are the only means by which a student can memorize lists of word classes that will occur in a particular position in a given frame.

Expansion drills have two purposes. First, they are better than replacement drills for teaching major and minor word order patterns since the student creates a new structure rather than just a new sentence differing from the frame by a single word. Here is a replacement drill to start teaching indirect-direct object order:

Rod gave Diana a ring.
Ann
Mary

This would be followed by an expansion drill requiring the student to select the position to be expanded without any cue except the regularity of the position of the proper noun:

Rod gave a ring.	Diana	Rod gave Diana a ring.
	Ann	Rod gave Ann a ring.
	Mary	Rod gave Mary a ring.

A second value of expansion drills is the clarification of the meaning of more complex structures. By careful choice of frame and cues we can indicate two things. We can demonstrate the structural meaning of an unambiguous complex sentence:

The man was eager.	He wanted to hunt.	The man was eager to hunt.

Or we can clarify the two (or several) meanings of an ambiguous sentence:

Stag sat in the bar.	The bar was dimly lit.	Stag sat in the bar dimly lit.
Stag sat in the bar.	Stag was dimly lit.	Stag sat in the bar dimly lit.

We have seen the simplest replacements, those of the one-for-one kind with no additional obligatory deletions, expansions, or rearrangements in the frame or cue. Now let us examine the ways in which replacement and expansion drills can be varied. The first alternative in varying the format of a drill is either to provide a new frame for each cue:

I buy apples.	sell	I sell apples.
We watch TV.	dislike	We dislike TV.

or to keep the frame constant while varying only the cue:

You teach English.	speak	You speak English.
	know	You know English.
	describe	You describe English.

The latter exercise, varying only the cue, is more efficient as we avoid the need to present a new frame for each cue. This format also taxes the student's memory less, a distinct advantage in introductory drills.

The last two drills have illustrated replacement in constant position. Now the context can be varied by replacing in varying positions. The position of replacement can be regularly varied.

Jack eats dinner slowly.	Bill	Bill eats dinner slowly.
	orders	Bill orders dinner slowly.
	tickets	Bill orders tickets slowly.
	quickly	Bill orders tickets quickly.

Or the variation of position can be irregular:

Jack eats dinner slowly.	quickly	Jack eats dinner quickly.
	orders	Jack orders dinner quickly.
	Bill	Bill orders dinner quickly.
	tickets	Bill orders tickets quickly.

This varied replacement, regular and irregular, diverts the student's attention from the particular structure being taught. The student must use the target pattern while consciously manipulating a segment somewhere else in the frame.

But this is only one device for diverting the student's conscious attention from the pattern being taught. In each of the drills illustrated thus far the replacement has been one word for one word or one construction for one construction. But one word can also be replaced with two, two with three, three with two, etc., while still maintaining the same structural pattern:

They elected him president yesterday.	John	They elected John president yesterday.
	chose	They chose John president yesterday.
	chairman	They chose John chairman yesterday.
	in the morning	They chose John chairman in the morning.
	all the members	All the members chose John chairman in the morning.

Another format variation is to provide a two-word cue with regular replacement:

We saw him running.	heard crying	We heard him crying.
	watched working	We watched him working.
	left laughing	We left him laughing.

Or we can use the two-word cue in irregular replacement:

We mailed Jane a gift.	I gave	I gave Jane a gift.
	John book	I gave John a book.
	offered him	I offered him a book.

What is being suggested here is that a hierarchy of difficulty can be constructed. Consistent one-for-one replacement is easier than irregular one-for-one; irregular one-for-one is easier than irregular double-replacement, and so forth. Gradually and systematically increasing the difficulty of pattern drills, the TEFL lets the student slowly develop facility in handling the target pattern. What he must guard against is allowing the drills to become too complex too soon. If this happens, then he is testing, not teaching.

Teaching occurs when the student is accumulating habitual reactions through structurally unvarying responses to regular frames and cue; his changing the parts of frame or cue must be regular. His analogizing from the preceding frame, cue, and response must be automatic. If changes become unpredictable before mastery of the target structure, the drill will become useless and frustration will result.

This can be illustrated by the following. This simple drill, obviously, is regular with undivided focus:

He saw the boy.	liked	He liked the boy.
	shook	He shook the boy.
	knew	He knew the boy.

In the next drill, learning is still probably taking place even though the focus is divided between regular and irregular past tense and verb sub-class membership:

Tom decided to learn.	pay	Tom paid to learn.
	forget	Tom forgot to learn.
	go	Tom went to learn.

While this last drill distracts the student slightly from the target pattern, the following one is too disorganized and irregular to be useful. Here the focus is divided between varied position replacement, irregular past tense, structural expansion and, notice, two possible responses in the fifth cue:

Tom liked eating.	hate	Tom hated eating.
	mean	Tom meant to eat.
	ask	Tom asked to eat.
	her	Tom asked her to eat.
	watch	Tom watched her eat(ing).

The last two drills suggest another difficulty in evaluating the usefulness of pattern practices: obligatory syntactic or inflectional adjustments are necessitated in the frame or cue when the two are combined. Thus it can be asked: How extensive and in what combinations are changes involving deletion, replacement, expansion, and transposition?

Here is an exercise requiring only simple deletion in the cue:

Jake caught a big fish.	The fish was long.	Jack caught a long fish.

This one requires replacement of the cue:

He caught it last week.	eat	He ate it last week.

Expansion of the cue:

Ten fish are caught.	some	Some of the fish are caught.

Finally, this drill requires transposition in the sentence after the cue word has been inserted:

They turned off the light.	it	They turned it off.

Any of the above changes in replacement drills complicates the problem for the student. He must perform these changes in addition to uttering an unfamiliar sentence pattern.

In quite similar manner the format of expansion drills can be varied. The teacher can require a single addition in one position with no other changes in frame or cue:

Ann cooked a dinner.	good	Ann cooked a good dinner.
She made some bread.	tasty	She made some tasty bread.
She washed the dishes.	dirty	She washed the dirty dishes.

Or he can require regular double addition with still no obligatory secondary changes in frame or cue:

Men like food.	old	soft	Old men like soft food.
The girls flew the kite.	young	big	The young girls flew the big kite.

This drill illustrates irregular double addition without secondary changes:

The farmer found a pig.	old	seldom	The old farmer seldom found a pig.
He found a pig in the field.	quickly	fat	He quickly found the fat pig in the field.

In these last three drills the teacher has supplied a new frame for each cue. The next two drills illustrate how he can expand the same frame, regularly:

The men go.	to town	The men go to town.
	very fast	The men go to town very fast.
	every day	The men go to town very fast every day.

and irregularly:

The boys painted.	good	The good boys painted.
	the house	The good boys painted the house.
	quickly	The good boys painted the house quickly.
	last week	The good boys painted the house quickly last week.

These two drills should be presented in this order, not the reverse.

In the latter five examples the TEFL has varied expansion drills by various kinds of addition. He can also complicate this kind of drill, gradually and systematically, by making other changes in frames and cue. In this drill he can require deletion in the cue:

The dog is a collie.	I own the dog.	The dog I own is a collie.

or replacement:

He's tired.	has	He has been tired.

He can ask for expansion by recall of a previously learned pattern:

Jim went home.	Bill	Jim went home and so did Bill.

And this drill requires rearrangement in the response:

You can swim.	where	Where can you swim?
You can swim and I can too.	so	You can swim and so can I.

In conclusion, let's review the important principles in the composition of replacement and expansion pattern practice drills. First, we must keep in mind the grammatical focus of the structure being taught and try to build on related structures which have already been learned. We must plan logical sequences of drill types using the shortest possible sentences consistent with natural conversation. And we must be sure to eliminate secondary changes in number, case, tense, and irregular verb forms which may distract the student too soon from learning a new pattern. If we keep these things in mind we will be programming our drills in minimally difficult steps which *gradually* distract the student from conscious concentration on the target structure. In this way, pattern manipulation becomes unconscious, and the student can turn his attention to obligatory, but pedagogically secondary, adjustments within patterns of increasing complexity.

THE USE OF MODEL PASSAGES IN A PROGRAM OF GUIDED COMPOSITION

Christina Bratt Paulston

At the 1965 NAFSA conference, Kenneth Croft in his paper "TESL Materials Development" concluded with some types of materials still needed in the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages; included were materials with controls for teaching writing. I thought this 1966 TESOL conference might be an opportune time to report on a program of guided composition which several of us at Teachers College, Columbia University have been working on. It was, I believe, first outlined by Professor Gerald Dykstra in his paper at the first TESOL conference in Tucson, Arizona, in 1964. He may at that time have called it programmed composition; later we called it controlled composition; I have changed it to guided composition because, as a colleague of mine put it, it sounds less ferocious, but I intend no meaningful difference between the terms *guided* and *controlled.*

I would like first to describe our program of guided composition and then go on to discuss the preparation of materials for teaching writing in light of this program.

Beginning with simple substitutions, continuing through transformations, and ending with free compositions, each of the texts constitutes a course or program for a specific level of language achievement. The entire program is designed eventually to cover grades four through twelve and the college level, as well as to offer texts for students from specific native languages. To give you an idea of the extent of the program, I might mention that together with Dr. F. C. Johnson, I am also preparing texts for forms four, five, and six for New Guinea, and together with Mr. Hafizullah Baghban, I am preparing a lower level college text for Afghan students. Richard and Antonette Port together with Professor Dykstra have written one, *Ananse Tales*, for West Africa, intended for the last high school years, which Teachers College Bureau of Publications has recently published. The appendix presents a sample page from the college text which I prepared for foreign students in the United States.

The college text (to which I shall refer from now on) consists of model passages and a series of steps or instructions for the student to follow in rewriting the model. Basically this is a set of materials which provides the students with the opportunity to learn writing by writing. It is not intended to replace the handbook or grammar but rather to be used in conjunction with such a work as reference.

Each step covers a specific language pattern. The composition, i.e., the conversion of the model which the student produces, is controlled and graduated through the application of the steps which are arranged in order of increasing difficulty. Let me hasten to add that the "order of difficulty" is not based on any scientific linguistic study but rather on the intuitive judgment of experienced teachers. Each step (see the appendix) has two parts which we have called *Situation* and *Assignment*. The only purpose of the *situation* is to make the rewriting of the model passage more meaningful: to explain the context of passage or the imagined situation. The *situation* then depends on and varies with each *assignment*.

Each model passage is followed by a certain number of steps. The idea is not, and this has been confusing to some people in the past, that the student should execute all the steps possible for each model; he only does one step for each model passage. A question to be answered, then, is: Why is there more than one step for each model? An examination of the procedure for using the text may make the answer clear.

The procedure is the following. First, the instructor estimates the number of compositions to be written during the course. For example, the course I taught last fall met twice a week for fifteen weeks: four compositions a week, two as homework and two written in class added up to sixty compositions. I then selected from the "Catalogue of Steps"—this is a list of references by number to the total series of the 111 steps plus cross references to the passages in which each step occurs, with the grammatical feature indicated for each step—the sixty language patterns I felt the class needed to cover. The selection of specific patterns was based on an analysis of the students' free writing. The students are then assigned the first of the sixty selected steps in class. Each student rewrites the passage in his notebook, incorporating the assigned changes, which he is asked to underline. As soon as a student finishes, he brings his composition to the teacher who, familiar with the materials and the assignment, need only glance at the underlined changes to correct the composition, a procedure which takes less than a minute. I may add parenthetically that if a possible copying error should escape the teacher's attention, this does not result in any serious loss of the effectiveness of the materials.

If the student's composition is correct, he goes on to the next step on the teacher's list of steps. If the composition is not correct, the studen is asked to repeat a step but with another model passage—he does not rewrite the same passage—after the teacher has either explained his error or directed him to a reference grammar. (I use Thomas Crowell's *Index to Modern English.*) A student is never asked to proceed beyond any step or level on which he is making mistakes, nor need he repeat a step he can execute correctly. Each student is thus able to proceed at his own pace, independently of his classmates.

Having several steps for each model provides the instructor flexibility in selecting steps and a sufficient number of steps for even the slowest student. With a slow student, it is possible for him to repeat rewriting a passage but with different steps.

After some weeks there is usually a noticeable range in the steps the students are working on, and slow learners should be encouraged to do extra work. This can be accomplished in several ways, either through extra homework assignments or during special hours or even in "tutorials" with a friendly neighbor, as long as he is a native speaker of English. I use an extra class hour directed by a student teacher.

We have, then, a program for teaching writing which (1) controls the language content; (2) reinforces correct writing procedures since the opportunity to make mistakes is small (At a spotcheck ¾ of the way through the term, out of 280 compositions 231 were correct, and of the 49 which contained errors 10 had errors which were due to the students' not following directions.); (3) gives the student a definite sense of progress and improvement which builds confidence in his own ability to write as well as motivates him to further improve his writing; (4) provides the student with maximum writing opportunity; (5) enables the student to proceed at his own rate of speed and at his own level of ability; (6) covers the major grammatical features of the language; (7) emphasizes the positive, i.e., the student is never asked to deal with deliberately erroneous language; (8) deals with language in context; and (9) makes possible rapid correction for (a) immediate reinforcement of correct writing responses and knowledge of errors, and (b) the saving of teacher time for higher educational efficiency.

The procedure I have just outlined can of course be altered. With my present class, I have prepared an individual program for each student, based on an analysis of his particular writing problems; each student has his own list which he follows. Since this is an advanced class in professional writing, we spend a minimum of class time on the mechanics of English. For the students who still need some practice in mechanics, the guided composition text can be used to provide independent work outside of class.

Now it is quite true that there will be an occasional student who will object to the rigidity of this sort of writing. I had one a year ago, a Chinese girl, who wanted to write about life and death, which she did. It is also true that I was not able to teach her much. My personal opinion, which I hold in common with many other teachers, is that you cannot be creative in another language until you can handle the tools of that language. Until then let the student be creative in his own language, but to encourage creativity in English will merely delay his mastery of structure and vocabulary. I remember that my Moroccan students would write the most delightful, poetic, and slightly un-English compositions; they were simply translating Arabic expressions verbatim, and the result was fortuitous, not creative.

I would like to add that in a program of guided composition, the students ought to have the opportunity to write free compositions occasionally, both to be able to express their feelings and to establish a need for certain expressions and patterns which they will then later come across in their guided compositions and so hopefully learn more effectively.

In the preparation of these texts, we have followed what we have called Worksheet No. 8, a list of all the steps intended to cover the major grammatical features of English, prepared under Professor Dykstra's direction. This worksheet is now under revision; with experimental materials one finds that the theoretical model needs to be modified in light of actual language behavior. When this Worksheet is revised, the plans at present call for publishing it separately so that teachers who might not want to follow the entire program of a text can have a guide in preparing their own materials for specific language patterns.

Such materials can of course be prepared without a guide. Let me discuss with you what types of conversions—by which I simply mean language manipulations in rewriting the model—are possible. There are four, and in order of difficulty they are: substitutions, transformations, modifications, and, at last, free writing. In a substitution the structural patterns of the sentence remain the same, while one slot (in case of agreement more than one) is filled by a specific class of filler. (See the appendix, step 71; *Jimmie's mother* changed to *Jimmie's father* is an example of a substitution.) In a transformation the structural patterns differ from the model although the output remains controlled by the original sentence structure; the conversion from active to passive is an example of this. (For another example, see the appendix, step 62.) In a modification the structural patterns differ from the model, and the output is a result of the student's choice. (See the appendix, step 97.) Finally there is free composition, which is of course the goal of the three previous kinds of conversions. The last step in the guided composition text is entitled "Choose a topic and write": there is no model and no teacher or program control.

The model passages can be constructed in three ways: you can write your own, you can adapt existing materials, or you can use passages from the literature as they were written. We have done all three: Mr. Baghban wrote down some Afghan folktales, the Ports adapted the *Ananse Tales* from R. S. Rattray, and I selected passages from American and British literature. For lower levels one may want to limit the vocabulary, but the sentence structures control themselves, as it were. The control lies in the conversion: either you can convert a structure or you can't, and the difficulty lies in finding or writing convertible structures. Once this is achieved, the other structures in the passage are merely rewritten, and, in fact, all structures are controlled. Of course, if a structure causes semantic difficulty, that is another matter; the one necessity is that the model passage be understandable to the students.

In looking for model passages to convert to specific patterns, one is at first likely to be discouraged since it seems at times difficult to find what one is looking for. Parallelism, for instance, is not very frequent in modern English, but it can be found in esasys, editorials, sermons, political speeches, in writing which attempts to convince readers. Passives are much rarer than one might think; newspaper accounts are a good place to look for them, as are grammars. You can read many pages of fiction without coming across any sentence connectives—the place to look for them is in writing which deals with involved abstract facts, especially in comparisons. I remember looking for them in B. A. G. Fuller's *History of Philosophy,* and there in two short paragraphs were nine sentence connectives. Imperatives are surprisingly scarce even in fiction and letter-collections; one isolated imperative may occur, but rarely more. You will find them in cookbooks and how-to books. Modifications are most easily used with fiction, i.e., the adding of adjectives and adverbs, of relative clauses, and the like. I could continue the list, but I hope the process is clear.

It seems as if different types of writing lend themselves to different types of constructions. There are interesting implications in this for a formal analysis of style.

In concluding, I would like to add that not only has the use of model passages proved very helpful in teaching writing to students whose native language is not English, but also that this approach carries great potential for teaching writing to speakers of non-standard dialects of English.

APPENDIX

Sample page from

A PROGRAM OF GUIDED COMPOSITION

CHRISTINA BRATT PAULSTON
Teachers College, Columbia University

Passage 51:
Muriel Soark, *Robinson.*

1) The circumstances of Jimmie's mother's disappearance were these. 2) Soon after her widowhood she went on a visit to her parents in Namur, leaving Jimmie with his nurse in Holland. 3) In her father's household was a chef of whom he was very proud. 4) He set so much store by his chef's cooking that he would not permit his family to season their food according to taste. 5) Few guests came to his table, lest they should require salt and pepper, and then only those who understood and acquiesced in their host's rule, for this father held that the food was excellent without additional seasoning, but with it all would be ruined, the chef insulted. . . .

6) On the first evening of her visit, Jimmie's mother casually reached for the great heavy salt, and ignoring the choking cries which proceeded from her father's throat, ignoring his bulging eyes and her mother's fluttering hands, she placed a little salt on the side of her plate. 7) The father turned her out of the house that very hour.

62. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's mother disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage, changing the following verbal phrases to clauses: *leaving . . ., to season, insulted, ignoring.* (These verbs are not oriented in time; rewrite them so that they do become time oriented.) Make whatever other changes in word order, etc., that become necessary.

66. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's mother's disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage, combining sentences 3 and 4 by making one of them into a phrase, see Appendix VI.

69. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's mother's disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage, changing *chef* to *gardener.* Follow the general structure of the passage but make whatever changes in vocabulary that are necessary for the passage to make sense.

71. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's father's disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage, combining sentences 3 and 4 and changing *Jimmie's mother* to *Jimmie's father.*

97. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's mother's disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage, changing the verb in the last sentence to past conditional (would — + if) and supply the conditions; i.e., add an *if*-clause of your own invention.

102. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's mother's disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage from the grandfather's point of view, beginning *In Jimmie's grandfather's household.* . . . You have to make changes in the original sentence structure to show Jimmie's father's attitude.

103. Situation: Tell the story of Jimmie's mother's disappearance.
Assignment: Rewrite the entire passage, adding a suitable shorter ending of your own.

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V. What to Do in the Classroom: Devices and Techniques

CAROL J. KRIEDLER
Pictures for Practice

RALPH BRANDE
Talking Books and Other Multi-Media Materials

RALPH J. SCHWARTZ
Pattern Practice: Some Considerations

[154-156]

PICTURES FOR PRACTICE

Carol J. Kreidler

Modern language pedagogy has developed the audio-lingual approach in which the emphasis is on developing the students' abilities to understand, speak, read, and write the language. The audio-lingual approach to language teaching is characterized by several statements which are undoubtedly well-known to you. The statement which is most important for our discussion here today is "Language is a set of habits." O'Connor and Twaddell make the following statement regarding initial stages of school-learning of a foreign language.

> The work of the descriptive analysts has revealed the complexity of language habits, and we are nowadays aware of the enormous amount of practice needed to make these recognitions and variations and selections truly automatic and habitual and usable. When a FL habit differs structurally from a conflicting NL habit, hundreds of repetitions (simple repetitions, and repetitions within variation and selection practice) are needed to form and confirm the desired new habit. Indeed, the strategy of planning a FL class is precisely the organizing of classroom time to assure the necessary repetitions of the essential patterns, without attention-killing boredom.[1]

If this, then, is our task, any aid which helps us to accomplish it is most welcome.

There are a variety of aids available to the classroom teacher which will both add variety to the class and relieve the teacher of the necessity of talking all the time. Among these aids are the tape recorder, record player, movies, charts, pictures, film strips, puppets, songs, games, flannel boards, chalkboards, and so on. As the title of this paper implies, we will limit ourselves to a discussion of the use of still pictures—those that are commercially available or easily made by the teacher.

The most effective practice for the automatic control of language is varied, fast-moving, and related to a situation or environment. The problem of creating interest while drilling rapidly in real situations is a considerable one. Since pictures are a recognized convention for an actual situation, they can provide a visual cue which will call to the student's mind the situation to which he should respond.

Maxine Buell suggests three important contributions pictures make to language teaching. First, pictures are practical

> . . . in helping connect new and unfamiliar terms with the ideas or concepts symbolized by these terms. Pictures help make concrete what might otherwise remain verbal abstraction for the student . . . Pictures help us avoid verbalism in our teaching; they give reality to what we are explaining. Second, pictures help the teacher suggest contexts which are outside the classroom setting. Some contexts are very difficult to recreate in words alone, and, if the teacher does manage to recreate them, it is only with the loss of valuable time. The third advantage follows closely. Pictures help the teacher change contexts rapidly and easily.[2]

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[1] "Intensive Training for an Oral Approach in Language Teaching," *The Modern Language Journal* (St. Louis: National Federation of Modern Language Teaching Association), XLIV, No. 2, Part 2, (February, 1960), 5.

[2] Maxine Guin Buell, "Picture Exercises for Oral Drill of Structure Patterns," *Language Learning*, III, 1 and 2 (January–June, 1950), 14.

Pictures, then, can be of help to the teacher in the various segments of the class time devoted to language teaching. Most of us would agree that class time is divided into two parts: presentation and practice. The introduction or presentation of a new point takes comparatively little class time, although it may take a great deal of teacher time to plan. The use of pictures in presenting a new structure, a pronunciation point, a vocabulary contrast or context, a situation for a reading selection or composition can make the following exercise much more meaningful and often unambiguous.

The practice segment of the class time is not only the larger segment, but also much harder work for both teacher and student. Practice may be divided into two types: drill and testing, both of which are important at various stages of learning the language. *Drill* is the rapid, quick-moving practice of a teacher-determined point or contrast—practice which will lead to the automatic handling of that point. Substitution drills, and transformation or conversion drills are examples of the *drill*-type of practice. *Testing* is the practice of previously drilled points—a cumulative practice. In testing practice, the student is asked to call on all that he has been taught to react to the situation. Telling a story or writing a composition or some uses of dialogues are examples of testing practice. Pictures may be used either as the cue which provides the stimulus for rapid drill or as the context for testing practice.

In the presentation segment of the lesson and in the testing aspect of practice, the use of pictures has been widespread for some time. Posters and wall-charts, in addition to providing classroom decoration, can set the context for introducing a dialogue, and they can stimulate oral and written composition. Movies and filmstrips add a variety of developed situations which can stimulate composition. A series of drawings on the chalkboard can stimulate story-telling. Most of us have made use of these aids in our teaching. It is in the area of pictures for drill practice that much less has been developed for teaching English to speakers of other languages. It is this type of practice—drill—that I would like to emphasize.

Let us see now how pictures might be used in class time to relieve "attention-killing boredom." Since the teaching of language involves teaching the students to handle the basic grammatical structures, to use the proper vocabulary items in those structures, and to pronounce those vocabulary items well, I would like to discuss these parts of language teaching and how pictures can be used as an aid for teaching them. The emphasis will be on drill-type practice, but I will mention the use of pictures in presentation and the testing-type practice.

The Teaching of Pronunciation

Focus on pronunciation begins when a pronunciation point is determined by the teacher. This point will probably be presented and practiced in contrast with another sound. The teacher will want to practice the contrast in minimal pairs, other single words, and then in larger utterances. Let us assume we wish to practice /i/ contrasted with /iy/. Pictures might be used in the following ways in this part of the lesson:[3]

---

[3] All items used as examples in presentation or drills are picturable.

For presentation the teacher holds up a picture of a *ship* and a ***sheep*** saying, ***It's a ship, It's a sheep,*** or ***It's a pick, It's a peak.*** This has the advantage of assuring the student that there is a difference which he must master.

In the teaching of pronunciation the teacher spends a great deal of time in having the student recognize the sound and in guiding the student's imitation of a model. At this point pictures do not play a large part in class activity. When the class progresses to the testing phase, the production of the sounds without the teacher as a constant model, pictures can be of help.

Assuming the identification structure is already mastered, the teacher might select a number of items with the contrasting /i/ and /iy/. With the teacher flashing the picture, the students respond, *It's a sheep, It's a ship, It's a peak, It's a key, It's a bridge, It's a pick, It's a fish, It's a tree, It's a pig, It's a three.*

If the contrast is taught at a later stage, the structure might be a more advanced one:

You must have seen a pig before.
sheep
key
bridge
pick
peak
fish
tree
ship

After a number of verbs have been introduced, /iy/ and /i/ may be tested with pictures of actions. Notice how these pictures are handled. The cue is written on the back of the card. Moving the pictures from the back of the pile to the front allows the teacher to know which picture the class is looking at without craning his neck. For example:

He is fixing the radio.
playing pingpong.
reading the newspaper.
sleeping.
feeding the dog.
stealing the monkey.
crossing the street.
drinking milk.
swimming.
singing a song.

We all agree that review is an extremely important part of our work. Pictures can be used to provide a quick review of sound contrast; those pictures used originally to present the contrasts can be used in a quick-moving exercise using the identification structure for review of the sounds at any time after they have been taught.

The Teaching of Vocabulary

Lessons in vocabulary no longer take the form of definition-centered explanations. The audio-lingual approach takes into account three aspects in the presentation of vocabulary: the item, the structure, and the context. Each item is presented in a structure, and if possible, the structure is presented in a context.

Let us assume that the area we wish to present and practice is food. The context is "having a meal"—in this case, breakfast. The structure we will be practicing is: *I like coffee; I would like a cup of coffee*—count nouns or countables versus mass nouns or uncountables. Much of the learning that takes place here is the learning of the names of the items. We have: orange juice, cereal, fruit, coffee, milk, bacon, eggs, toast, etc. Drill exercises might consist of flashing the pictures with the structure set. For example:

I like oranges. *Then:*	I would like a glass of orange juice.
milk.	glass of milk.
coffee.	cup of coffee.
fruit.	dish of fruit.
cereal.	bowl of cereal.
toast.	slice or piece of toast.
cheese.	slice or piece of cheese.

then mixing the items forcing a choice between:

I'd like some oranges. *and* I'd like a glass of orange juice.

Testing might consist of having students *tell* what they have had for breakfast, holding up the picture at the same time.

Items such as adjectives are often more easily presented and drilled with their opposites:

A is	large.	B is	small.
	long.		short.
	fast.		slow.
	wide.		narrow.
	tall.		short.
	old.		young.
	new.		old.
	cheap.		expensive.
	wet.		dry.

and later:

A is happier than B.
B is sadder than A.
A is heavier than B.
B is lighter than A.
A is fatter than B.
B is thinner than A.
A is thicker than B.
B is thinner than A.

The Teaching of Grammar

There are two types of commercially available pictures which can be used for drilling: context-oriented pictures and structure-oriented pictures. Context-oriented pictures[4] are those with a context set by the picture, such as a home scene, beach scene, or sports scenes. Each picture includes several objects, or actions, or relationships which may be used to practice several types of structures. Structure-oriented pictures consist of actions, objects, or relationships also. In one set of commercially-available aids the pictures are placed in chart form[5] in groups of nine to twelve items chosen for the types of structures they will drill. In the other set of aids,[6] the pictures are on individual cards, color-keyed by grammatical category, but flexible enough to allow the teacher to construct his own drills. Although these pictures may be used for vocabulary or pronunciation drill, usually the items pictured are of such high frequency that the most effective use is for drilling points of grammar. Any of these pictures could be drawn by the teacher or taken from magazines.

The pictures of adjectives with their opposites might also be used to present negatives. Let us take a picture indicating a strong man and a weak man. Presentation might be set up as follows: The teacher indicates the strong man and says, "He's strong." The teacher indicates the weak man and says, "He's weak. He isn't strong." The teacher indicates the strong man and says, "He's strong. He isn't weak."

There are a great many kinds of exercises which lend themselves to drill-type practice with pictures. These exercises include substitution and transformation or conversion, with all their variations. I would like to emphasize that the order of the structures is not necessarily the order in which I would teach them. A much more complicated structure may precede a much simpler one.

One of the most frequently used types of exercise is the substitution drill. In this the teacher sets the pattern by giving approximately three substitutions in the pattern, encouraging the students to join in when they feel confident of the pattern. The exercise would work like this:

He's a doctor.
dentist.
musician.
farmer.
waiter.
policeman.
mechanic.
clerk.

The number of new responses the teacher tries to elicit in such a drill without reviewing the items depends on the ability of the class, their familiarity with the vocabulary item, and the length of the response desired.

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[4] *The ABC American English Charts* with *Teacher's Manual* (New York: American Book Co., 1960).

[5] Robert Lado and Charles C. Fries, et al., *English Pattern Practice Charts* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1958).

[6] Carol J. Kreidler and M. Beatrice Sutherland, *Flash-Pictures: A Set of 252 Cards Used as an Aid to Teachers of English as a Foreign Language* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1963) (Distributed by Follett's Michigan Bookstore).

This substitution exercise works in the same way whether a chart or individual pictures are used. Any chart, however, is limited to the number of contexts illustrated. If there are twelve illustrations on one chart, one need not use all twelve in a drill, but it is impossible to use more than twelve contexts. Individual pictures, if there is a large enough collection, allow for more, varied contexts in which to practice a pattern.

A good set of pictures can be used to practice quite a number of structures from the simple pattern which was just demonstrated to the more complex ones. For example:

He's waiting for the bus now.
driving the car
cutting the cake
setting the table

at a later stage:

Did he pick up the magazine yesterday?
ride the bike
shop

still later:

I would like to watch TV, but I don't have time.
wash my clothes,
hold the baby,

and even later:

Have you eaten lunch yet?	Yes, I just ate lunch.
bought a coat	bought a coat.
written a letter	wrote a letter.
thrown away the paper	threw it away.

It is even possible to get a fast-moving drill going by using the pictures of a boy and girl. These can be drawn on the chalkboard more easily. Standing between the two faces (*he* ♂ and *she* ♀) and using gestures, the teacher can practice all of the pronouns. The gestures should always be from the point of view of the student. Thus, when the teacher points to himself, the students should respond *you*. When the teacher points to an individual student, the student responds *I*.

I'm working.
He's
She's
They're
We're
You're

Another type of exercise in which pictures or drawings are useful is the transformation or conversion drill.

He's a	doctor;	he's not a	dentist.
	dentist;		musician.
	musician;		farmer.
	farmer;		waiter.
	waiter;		mechanic.

Three symbols on the chalkboard can also help in the conversion drill. These are: + affirmative, − negative, and ? question. Then the picture may be held close to the appropriate symbols, forming a combination of substitution and conversion drills. Also verbal cues may be supplied: *walk, drive, fly, eat, practice English, sing, dance, laugh.*

The context-oriented pictures that I mentioned can be used for practicing verbs in answer to such questions as *What is he doing? What does he do? What did he do? What has he done?* Such pictures also often indicate relationships, so prepositions are easily practiced with them. One definite advantage of this type of picture is the cultural advantage it provides. It is much easier to show a picture of a supermarket than to try to explain one.

Testing practice with pictures often takes the form of story-telling or writing compositions. Pictures can be used to stimulate the imagination of the student. A series of familiar pictures from which the student constructs a story can also be a help. Such pictures can give the student cues to which some structures may be attached. In other words, he has a "home base" from which to work.

For example, we might have the students tell about John and Mary's date. Pictures can be lined up in the chalk tray, and various structures can be used in writing about the pictures. Depending on the level of the student, more complicated patterns might be elicited.

> This is John. He's a student. That is Mary. She's a nurse. John is handsome. Mary is beautiful. (Of course, the students might write: John is a handsome student and Mary is a beautiful nurse.) John called up Mary. He asked, "Would you go to the movies with me tonight?" Mary said, "Yes, thank you." In the evening they went downtown by bus. They went to a movie. After the movie they danced. They went home by taxi.

It is also a common practice to use a context-oriented picture for composition. In addition to some of the commercially available picture books for compositions, it is possible to use certain comic strips which do not use captions. Donald Duck, Henry, and Ferd'nand are examples of some of the cartoons which might be used.

Pictures are fun to make and one receives a great deal of satisfaction from using his own creations. The often heard statement, "I can't draw," has little importance. If the essence of the object is caught, this is most important. As long as one is willing to laugh at himself, he need not worry about his drawing ability.

There are, however, several criteria for pictures which one must keep in mind when selecting or drawing those which are to be used for drill. First of all, they must be relatively free from ambiguity. The picture should call to the student's mind one quickly recognizable situation. The meaning of each of the pictures must be established the first time that it is used, and the correct response must be obtained each time the picture is flashed, *if* quick-moving, smooth drill is to result.

Second, pictures for drill must be easy to see and to handle. If the pictures being used are in chart form they must be placed so that all of the students can see them. A pointer will allow the teacher to indicate a part of the chart without obscuring the view of the students. If the pictures are individual ones, they should be drawn or mounted on a card which can be seen by the whole class and still manipulated easily.

The third characteristic of a good picture for drill is that it is relatively free from cultural misinterpretation. This characteristic is probably more important for pictures which are used in teaching in other countries. There are stories of the mistinterpretation of pictures because of the colors used or the shapes of buildings. What passes for a church in the Western countries would not be the typical kind of building for religious services in the Far East or in Moslem countries. In most of the classrooms in this country, the student is a resident of the cultural community and familiar with most of the concepts we would be picturing. If he is not familiar with them, he must learn them.

Drill such as the kind I have tried to illustrate is most useful at the earlier stages of learning a new language. It is in the early stages where correct habits must be formed. Other habits can then build on the solid foundation of these correct habits. However, for quite a while in the learning of the language remedial drill will be necessary. In testing practice a teacher may discover several students having trouble with a particular structure. This then is the point at which drill is necessary again. Pictures can help make this drill more meaningful and add variety to the class hour.

TALKING BOOKS AND OTHER MULTI-MEDIA MATERIALS

Ralph Brande

The John F. Hylan School (P.S. 257) is located in the Williamsburg area of Brooklyn. The pupil population of 1200 is about two-thirds Puerto Rican and the remainder are mainlanders. Many of the pupils on entering school at the pre-kindergarten, kindergarten or first year level are seriously delayed developmentally in the linguistic skills. This is true of both the Spanish-speaking children, who have little or no facility in English, and many of the mainland children. Therefore, despite the sincere efforts being made by a dedicated staff of teachers, many of the children have made very slow progress, or show little academic success.

In an effort to overcome the handicaps facing the children a program has been developed at the early childhood level which would, among other things, improve the linguistic development of the pupils. The program, called "Revision of the Curriculum and Multi-Media Approach to Instruction," recognizes the need for changes in content, materials, methods and procedures, and a focus on the local environment. The multi-media half of the program is the subject of this paper.

This multi-media program is no panacea; it is, in essence, a deeply motivating and teaching force for teachers and pupils alike, whose latent talents have been activated and who now display an urgency to develop and extensively utilize varied media in the learning process.

From the very beginning, it was recognized by everyone involved in the project that there were many educational problems which had to be solved. Among these were:

—the lack of linguistic readiness and adequate motivation for school experiences by many children;
—the inability to translate thought processes into the spoken word;
—the inability of many children to conceptualize;
—the lack of appropriate educational materials concerning the immediate environment;
—the lack of community involvement and parental understanding of the school program;
—the need to develop a program that makes individual and small group teaching possible in order to provide for the needs of the children with wide ranges of readiness;
—the need to give every child a daily feeling of success.

To meet these and other local needs, those involved in the program developed various materials and techniques. Most successful so far have been the Talking Books. These are tape recordings, made by members of the staff, of stories read from available classroom or library books. Several teachers in pre-kindergarten through grade two started with the Talking Books. Each of them selected a secluded area of her room with sufficient space for six children to work with necessary equipment. Each "corner" was provided with a tape recorder, connecting box, and six sets of earphones. Brackets were provided for the tapes and companion books.

The "tape recorder-earphone combination," as utilized in the listening corner, has many attributes that have resulted in more effective instruction and have aided teachers in meeting many of our children's needs:

1. As the child listens to the tape through the earphones, he is in effect working on an independent, individual basis.
2. The usual classroom distractions are eliminated while the earphones are on. The child concentrates solely on the sounds coming through the earphones.
3. Children who rarely speak to their teachers or classmates have been known to respond to questions they have *personally* received via tape.
4. Tapes can be played over and over as required to meet the needs of individual children or groups of children.
5. Children love to hear their favorite stories over and over again. The use of the tape recorder in the listening corner permits some children to hear their favorite stories repeated while the teacher works with other members of the class.
6. The ease with which children can be taught to operate the tape recorder and earphones provides the teacher an opportunity to develop competence in the children, to give them a feeling of responsibility and success, and to inculcate respect for public property.
7. Working in groups in the listening corner provides children an opportunity to work together in a social setting.
8. Providing a listening corner in a classroom offers the teacher another technique that has proved effective in meeting children's individual and group needs. While a child or group of children works in the listening corner, the teacher is available for work with other groups in other sections of the room.

The part of the program dealing with books is basically divided into two phases. There are the easy-to-read books for children at the beginning reading stage who need both the visual and auditory reinforcement to achieve ease in book-reading (*The Three Bears, The Three Goats, The ABC Bunny, Big and Little,* etc.). The second phase includes the story appreciation books which introduce children to library books (*One Snail and Me, Two Little Trains, Harry, The Dirty Dog,* etc.).

The Talking Book library contains dozens of titles and is constantly expanding. Teachers are not limited to titles available. In fact, the best results are probably achieved where the class teacher tapes stories that are familiar to the children. She may utilize books that are part of the class and/or school library. This provides for a more meaningful experience for both teacher and pupil because the pupils are familiar with the teacher's voice and with the story. The person doing the recording reads and explains the story just as though a child were sitting on her lap having the story read to him. We have found that preparation of the tape recordings is extremely simple and requires little time.

In an effort to give all of the children a share of the excitement in the Talking Book program, our Spanish-speaking Auxiliary Teacher made recordings of several books in Spanish. We found this to be valuable for the children who had very little understanding of English. A result of this was that after hearing the stories in Spanish and following the pages in the book, they were better prepared for the next phase, which was to hear the same stories in English and to understand what they heard. A tape is now being used which tells each page of the story in Spanish to develop the concepts and has the words on each page read in English to make the listener familiar with the text.

As the word spread of the success of the Talking Books, more and more teachers wanted to take part. Since not enough tape recorders were available to put in every classroom, mobile listening corners were improvised. These are movable projection tables upon which are placed a tape recorder, earphones, and connecting box. The Talking Books are kept in the individual rooms or exchanged among the teachers, as needed. The obvious disadvantage is the need to schedule the mobile corner.

In addition to Talking Books, other multi-media techniques have been introduced into the school and classroom. Before this was done, we examined how best to utilize each particular technique to meet our needs.

Slide sets (35 mm.) were made of experiences our children have in the local neighborhood or on class trips. In the set, "Walk Around the Block," store signs, traffic signs, direction signs and other special labels were photographed. These are constantly used to develop concepts and to help the children recognize these familiar words. "Stores in the Neighborhood" shows the bakery, clothing store, butcher shop, grocery store, hardware store, drugstore, and many others. "The Dental Clinic" is a tour of the Guggenheim Clinic with the children. This serves the dual purpose of being used as a valuable language arts tool and also as an introduction for those children who will be going to the clinic for the first time. Other titles in the home-made series include "Visit to the Zoo," "School Helpers," "Poultry Market," and the "Public Market." These slide sets also show various ethnic groups as successful businessmen or members of various professions. Another widely used multi-media technique is the commercially produced filmstrip with or without accompanying recording. While many results are achieved, the chief purpose is to introduce, reinforce, and expand the English vocabulary of our non-English speaking children (as well as others). Weston Woods has produced a series of worthwhile filmstrips and recordings. Children's favorites such as *The Story of Ping, The Five Chinese Brothers, Caps for Sale,* and *Mike Mulligan and His Steamshovel* open up a new world to our children. Teachers have found it best to read the story to the class first to allow the children to become familiar with its content. At this point, the ingenuity of the teacher takes over. Filmstrips and records can be played and later discussed. The filmstrips can be shown without a recording and the children urged to tell the story. The children's words may be taped for comparison with the actual story or for evaluation of their progress at a later date.

For those children unable to verbalize, the flannel board can be introduced.

This is good for stressing the vocabulary and the non-numerical concepts used in these stories. Children enjoy manipulating flannel board figures, which are usually colorful and more real than the filmstrip. They are prepared for beginning reading through readiness activities: reading from left to right, top to bottom. The preparation and use of the flannel board is a challenge to the teacher's creativity, but the results are well worth the time and effort.

Having many tape recorders available in the early childhood grades, the Non-English Coordinator has experimented with several model lessons and techniques suggested by members of the Language Arts Revision Project of our Bureau of Curriculum Research. One in particular was planned to give children automatic control of good language patterns, and to make them aware of how to say many things by substituting a single word in the pattern. The drill was taped by the teacher and the children were allowed to listen to their own responses. In playing back the tape, the teacher and the children listened for tempo, stress, intonation, and pronunciation.

In other classrooms, children and teachers work with the opaque projector and the sound motion picture projector. One teacher has successfully incorporated the overhead projector into her daily work. For one lesson, she prepared transparencies to be used in an integrated language arts-social studies activity. The unit was on Thanksgiving, and she wanted to develop the concept that many things can be called by different names. She projected a picture of a building—the children identified it as a house—and then she unmasked the word *house*. She inquired as to what else a house might be called, and the answer came—"a home." The teacher uncovered the word *home*. The same technique was used with a drawing of a loaf of bread. Children determined it could be "bread" or "food." They then made up original sentences and underlined the word on the screen which they were using—*bread, food, home, house.*

A very simple and effective device to get children to talk is the TV set made from an empty cardboard box. A screen is cut out and control dials are painted on the front of the set. The rear and bottom are also cut out to allow a child to stand behind the screen. It can be suspended from map hooks above the chalkboard, using elastic ties.

Children are anxious to be TV announcers, and the teacher finds them all eager to telecast their story or news. Engineers in the class "adjust" the volume controls if the speaker cannot be heard. The child for whom English is a second language does not hesitate to speak when he is on TV.

In class after class, you will find children working in small groups or individually. They learn to use the various pieces of equipment properly. Individual filmstrip viewers, earphones for tape recorders or phonographs, flannel boards, puppet stages are used by all of the children and their teachers.

The full effect of the program in the school will not be test measurable for a year or two. However, informal surveys, observations, and pupil-teacher reactions indicate the project is headed in the right direction.

PATTERN PRACTICE: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Ralph J. Schwartz

A couple of years ago while working with a student from Italy we ran into the usual problem of interference due to native language patterns. This young woman persisted in adding a vowel to the ends of words, the sort of thing that is so characteristic of Italian and of Italians trying to speak English that it has become part of the stereotype of Italian accent. It did no good to explain the difference between the two languages. Despite this knowledge she could not inhibit adding the intrusive vowels. We tried signal-cues, breaking up the sentence to be spoken, concentrating on the sounds—all to no avail.

It then occurred to me that the problem was not merely one of an intrusive and extraneous phoneme; the whole rhythmic pattern of the sentence was being altered. The extra vowel meant an extra syllable, and an extra syllable meant an extra beat. Internal stress and accent patterns were just a shade different. Even the other phonemes were different in terms of what one might term microphonetic elements: tension, duration, exact placement, transitional relationships. All of these differences formed a cohesive pattern. Our student was still speaking Italian, but with American words.

Why did she persist in the native pattern of speech? We explained the difference. We worked on American phonemics and on American prosodic patterns. We demonstrated, and gave her proper General American auditory patterns of speech to imitate and to practice. But her speech patterns were still Italian, not American.

Could she *tell* the difference between her pattern and ours? Yes, she could perceive the difference. But she could not produce the American pattern. The automaticity of speech production was never more evident.

There was, however, one more approach to pattern practice that had not been used. I remembered a system of speech reading, called the Jena method because it originated in Jena, Germany, in which rhythmic and grammatical patterns were practiced in unison speaking. It was said that the deaf who had been taught with this system had better speech than those who had used other types of lip reading.

A modified Jena approach was used with the Italian student. Success! Not only was the unwanted vowel gone, but the phonetic and prosodic patterns became more closely attuned to General American, and the Italian accent dropped away.

The Jena method of speech reading (lip reading) was developed by Karl Brauckmann.[1] Brauckmann thought of speech as having five forms: the audible form, the visible form, the movement form, the mimetic form, and gesture. Of these five forms he considered that only the movement form can be a complete *thought* form for everyone, for speech *is* movement. The audible form may be complete for those who can hear it. All of the other forms are visible phenomena; and they can never be complete, for they represent only a fragmentary aspect of language.

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[1] For those who wish to know more about the Jena method, perhaps the best-known source book in the United States is *Speech Reading—Jena Method* by Anna M. Bunger (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Press, 1944).

Brauckmann assumed that certain factors, particularly kinesthetic factors, operate both in the production and in the comprehension of the spoken word. Indeed, for each utterance there are numerous muscle actions associated with movements and postures within the speech apparatus. The sensations accompanying movements and muscle tensions are known as kinesthesia. In the Jena method one seeks to develop a kinesthetic awareness of speech.

The trick is, in speech reading, to observe the articulatory postures and rhythmic movements in *someone else* through the use of limited visual cues. And here the principle of empathy may be applied. In reacting to the subtle cues of stress and movement by tensing and working the muscles of one's own speech apparatus a "copy" of the speaker's patterns may be effected. The "listener" now gets kinesthetic cues from his own sub-vocal speech, and he can interpret these in terms of the linguistic code he knows. If the match has been a good one, he has understood the speaker.

A particularly significant aspect of the Jena approach is the technique of unison speaking. The advantage of concurrent speaking in pattern practice, over alternate or imitative speaking, is obvious. But this is not just choral speaking. In a group situation it is not just a lot of people all talking at once. Timing is of the essence. Each person following the speaker in Jena drill must endeavor to make his own speech movements coincide in manner and time with those of the speaker, so that as true a unison-speaking situation as possible occurs. The "listener" must act *with* the speaker, not *after* him.

Rhythm is another keystone of the system. And of course rhythm is expressed principally through kinesthesis. Brauckmann taught that rhythmic patterns carry meaning. Teachers of the method suggest that one may bounce a ball, sway, swing his arms, and tap out various temporal and stress rhythms—always while speaking. Thus one develops a sense of rhythm and learns to recognize, appreciate, and produce different nuances of rhythm. One may start by using nonsense syllables or rote counting, but one soon progresses to more meaningful material. Words and sentences may develop out of strings of nonsense syllables.

It is not the purpose of this presentation to teach you how to use the Jena method, but merely to describe it and explain it. Although nonsense syllables are traditionally a part of the drills, their use is not imperative. However, they do offer a simple means of illustrating the basic approach.

As an example, we start with the syllable *bay*, using a single beat rhythm. We start slowly so that the "class" members may fall into tempo. As the leader, once the "class" is speaking along with me I will drop the volume of my voice so that I can hear the others. Gradually I speed up, and the others must try to keep up with me. Next, the same thing is done with *bee*. Note that these are contrasting vowels; they are accoustically distinguishable and they have contrasting mouth movements. Now we are going to combine the two syllables;

first a regular sequence of *bay*, then one of *bee*, then of *bay*, and so on, alternating. Then the syllables are intermixed at random; and the "class" must follow the leader every time he changes from one syllable to the other. At some point in the drills—here or sooner—rhythmic variations of stress, duration, rate of utterance, etc., are introduced; and the "class" must learn to follow these prosodic variables with as much agility as they do the syllabic changes. Eventually the syllables are alternated in the pattern *BAY-bee,* and the group is in effect repeating the word "baby."

Of course, we did not use nonsense syllables with the Italian student. We simply worked directly with a short sentence. The sentence was repeated over and over again until she caught the pattern of our speech. Hopefully, with sufficient practice the new pattern could become stabilized, and she would be able to produce the sentence—and similar sentences—in proper General American form *on her own.*

In recent years we have been hearing about a motor theory of speech perception. Much of the work on this has been done at the Haskins Laboratories in New York. The motor theory says, in effect, that the acoustic patterns of speech are translated by the person who hears them into the physiologic patterns of his own speech production. Recognition and perception come about through association with these personal motor patterns. Doesn't this sound remarkably like Brauckmann's hypothesis? It isn't quite the same, but it is very close. If the motor theory of speech perception has any merit—and I believe that it does have merit—then we should seek to develop in our students an increased sense of kinesthesis and rhythm, and a rapid, unconsciously automatic awareness of the motor patterns of speech. The Jena method of speech reading would seem to be a natural vehicle for this sort of thing.

The student of a second language is in some ways very much like a person who is deaf. His hearing is distorted. His vocabulary is limited, both in quantity and quality. He misses nuances of meaning. Idiomatic expressions are especially difficult for him to comprehend. He has difficulty dealing with the structure of the language.

This last element is very important. The speech reader cannot hope to catch everything that is said; so he must fill in, he must anticipate, he must look for patterns. Of course, all of us do this to some extent, just in listening; we never really hear *everything* that is said to us. But for the deaf person, the speech reader, for whom the number of clues is greatly reduced—the burden of filling in and anticipating is vastly increased, and with limited linguistic resources the difficulty of doing so is accordingly greater. Therefore, knowledge of grammatical forms and extensive meaningful experiences with linguistic patterns are integral aspects of education of the deaf and any well-designed program of speech reading. It is easier to fill in and anticipate when one can do so within the guiding confines of a pattern. And this is just as true for the student learning a new language, or for anybody, as for the speech reader.

We may think of language as a complex code of patterns. Transitional probablities of linguistic units are determined and restricted by the structural patterns of a particular language. It is valuable, too, to conceive of language as a closed cybernetic system, that is, self-regulating and with a finite store of informational quanta. We may then postulate a system of Markovian probabilities. This means that certain patterns are more likely to occur than are other patterns. And we know that this is true.

It is on the basis of these structural and probabalistic features that both production and comprehension of a language is made easier. The patterns and probabilities contribute to semi-automatic emission, and the information inherent in the expectancies contributes to the redundancy. Redundancy, as the communication engineers have pointed out, is an excellent counteractant to noise—that is, to extraneous stimuli; it reinforces the informational content of concurrent patterns.

In teaching English as a second language we are seeking to develop a student in whom English becomes a true social communicative tool. Transmission and reception of information must be as rapid and accurate as possible. This means intensive and extensive experiences with the patterns of English, not merely in the abstract but in practical situations. What we are aiming at is a maximizing of redundancy.

When a person has a hearing problem, we often recommend that he learn to speech read. Why? So that he can learn to make maximal use of visual—and kinesthetic—cues, to either assist or substitute for his hearing. We are seeking to increase the redundancy of his speech perception.

For these reasons, the principles and procedures of the Jena method of speech reading appear to have significance for and application to the teaching of English as a second language.

"There are those among us who have spoken English all our lives and still find it in some measure a foreign language."

—From the remarks of Congressman Ben Reifel at the third national conference on Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, March 17, 1966.

VI. The TESOL Conference at New York

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

THE 1966 TESOL CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK CITY

George L. Anderson

Some three years of effort by many individuals and five organizations bore fruit on Friday, March 18, 1966, when the delegates to the Third National TESOL Conference voted to form an organization exclusively concerned with the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. "TESOL: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages" elected Harold Allen of the University of Minnesota as its President, Robert Lado of Georgetown University its Vice-President, and David P. Harris of Georgetown University as Vice-President and Chairman of the 1967 convention. At the business meeting, ably chaired by James L. Squire of the National Council of Teachers of English, a constitution was adopted and plans were made for a permanent secretariat and a journal.

Five organizations gave birth to TESOL, each one vitally concerned with second language problems, yet no one organization exclusively concerned with them. The Center for Applied Linguistics has as its interests the entire area of applied linguistics, which includes a program in English as a second language. The Modern Language Association of America has concentrated on the teaching of English and foreign languages to native speakers and on literary scholarship. The National Association for Foreign Student Affairs has borne a good deal of the burden of all problems—not only language problems—of the foreign student. The National Council of Teachers of English encompasses all of English pedagogy almost from the cradle to the grave, of which English as a second language is a part. The Speech Association of America has had an obvious concern in thousands of classrooms and through its research with the speaker whose English is not idiomatic. The Steering Committee which planned the first TESOL conference in Tucson in 1964 and the second in San Diego in 1965, as well as the New York convention, was made up of the representatives of these five interested organizations.

Some 868 persons registered for the New York meeting, and others attended at least some of the sesisons. Thirty-seven states of the union including Hawaii and Alaska were represented. We had 42 delegates from New England, 541 from New York, 16 from the southeast, 47 from the midwest, 26 from the south-central states, 2 from the Rocky Mountain area, 28 from the southwest, 21 from the west coast, 3 from Hawaii and 3 from Alaska. Twenty-nine delegates came from Puerto Rico. About 40 foreign visitors were present. They came from Canada, China, El Salvador, Poland, Israel, Japan, Pakistan, Lebanon, Mexico and Panama.

Our pedagogical interests were spread over the entire spectrum of education. Some 330 in attendance checked their interests as elementary education, 172 as secondary education, 204 as adult education, 240 as college education, 315 as in teacher training, and 140 in the teaching of English overseas. Many delegates checked more than one of these categories, of course. We had about 125 representatives from local government, including Boards of Education, 22 from state governments, and about 40 from national governments, United States and foreign. A large number of commercial representatives were on hand.

The convention was honored by a visit from the Honorable John V. Lindsay, Mayor of the City of New York, and the presence of Dr. John B. King, Deputy Executive Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York, who was our keynote speaker, was felt everywhere.

The members of the two hard working committees—the National Committee and the New York City Planning Committee—are listed below, and the success of the meeting was their triumph. Four names can be singled out for wise and frequent counsel. The program chairman who had Dr. John B. King's support and the telephone number of his indefatigable administrative assistant, Mrs. Jeanette Bragin, had the keys to the schools of New York City. Our conference put a considerable burden on Mrs. Bragin and others in Dr. King's office. When we asked for advice, we got it instantaneously and when we asked for speakers, chairmen, discussion leaders, and facilities, it took only a little longer. What Dr. King and Mrs. Bragin did for the program chairman so far as New York City was concerned, Miss Sirarpi Ohannessian and Dr. James L. Squire did nationally. Miss Ohannessian, Director of the English Program of the Center for Applied Linguistics, was the chairman of the 1965 conference. She turned over to us her well-oiled conference machinery, was responsible for suggesting many of the topics and many of the names on the program, and regularly told us when we were behind schedule, which was always. Dr. Squire planned the first TESOL conference in Tucson, worked valiantly on the plans for the TESOL organization, and was asked to chair the founding meeting of TESOL because no one could do it better and the honor was rightfully his. The program of the New York meeting owed much to Dr. Squire.

All of the local arrangements for the New York convention were most efficiently handled by William Work, Executive Secretary of the Speech Association of America, and his able staff.

TESOL NATIONAL PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Robert L. Allen	Chairman, Department of English, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City
Clelia Belfrom	Director, Curriculum Development, English as a Second Language, New York City Board of Education
Jeanette Bragin	Administrative Director, Office of the Executive Deputy Superintendent of Schools, New York City Board of Education
Robert A. Bennett	Education Center, San Diego Public Schools, California
Kenneth Croft	American Language Institute, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
Mary Finocchiaro	Director, Foreign Language Institute, Hunter College, New York City
Paul D. Holtzman	Language Testing Center for International Students, Pennsylvania State University
John B. King	Deputy Executive Superintendent of Schools, New York City Board of Education
Albert H. Marckwardt	Department of English, Princeton University, New Jersey
Mary McDonald	Assistant Director, Bureau of Community Education, New York City Board of Education
Sirapi Ohannessian	Director, English Program, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.
Hildegard Thompson	Former Chief, Branch of Education, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs
Elsie Wolk	Principal in Charge, Education of the Student for Whom English is a Second Language, Office of Elementary Education, New York City Board of Education
Program Chairman:	
George L. Anderson	Associate Executive Secretary and Treasurer, Modern Language Association of America
Local Chairman:	
William Work	Executive Secretary, Speech Association of America

TESOL NEW YORK CITY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Clelia Belfrom	Bureau of Curriculum Research, New York City Board of Education
Edward Bernard	New York City Board of Education
Jeanette Bragin	New York City Board of Education
William Bristow	Bureau of Curriculum Research, New York City Board of Education
Virginia Castadasi	New York City Board of Education
Mary Finnocchiaro	Hunter College, New York City
John B. King	New York City Board of Education
Sylvester King	Bank Street School, New York City
Jerome Kovalcik	New York City Board of Education
Joseph Loretan	New York City Board of Education
Mary C. McDonald	New York City Board of Education
Frederick Williams	New York City Board of Education
Marcella Williams	Bank Street School, New York City
Elsie Wolk	New Yok City Board of Education

VII. Conference Program

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Thursday Evening, March 17—8:00 p.m.
OPENING GENERAL SESSION

Address: John B. King
Deputy Executive Superintendent of Schools
New York City Board of Education
"The Most Powerful Educational Weapon in Our War on Poverty: Teaching English to Environmentally Handicapped Pupils and to Pupils of Foreign Language Background"

Address: Clifford H. Prator
Vice Chairman, English Department
University of California, Los Angeles
"Language Policy in the Primary Schools of Kenya"

GENERAL SESSION

Friday Morning, March 17—9:00 a.m. to 10:15 a.m.

Address: Albert H. Marckwardt
Department of English
Princeton University
"The Teaching of English in Eastern Europe"

Address: Lee H. Salisbury
Head, Department of Speech, Drama and Radio, College of Arts and Letters
University of Alaska
"Teaching English to Alaska Natives"

Friday Morning, March 18—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program I GUIDELINES FOR THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Chairman: Robert F. Hogan
Associate Executive Secretary
National Council of Teachers of English

Speakers: Sirarpi Ohannessian
Director, English Program
Center for Applied Linguistics
"Preparation for TESOL: Needs and University Programs"

F. Andre Paquette
Director, Testing and Teacher Preparation
Modern Language Association of America
"Thirty Hours Plus: The Experience of Developing Guidelines for the Education of Foreign Language Teachers"

Ralph B. Long
Chairman, Department of English
University of Puerto Rico
"What Teachers of English as a Second Language Should Know about the Language"

Discussants: Mamie Sizemore
Classroom Specialist, Division of Indian Education
Department of Public Instruction, State of Arizona

Ruth Crymes
Department of English
University of Hawaii

Friday Morning, March 18—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program II CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS—SOME PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Chairman: Harold B. Allen
Department of English
University of Minnesota

Speakers: J. Donald Bowen
Department of English
University of California, Los Angeles
"Contrastive Analysis and the Language Classroom"

San-su C. Lin
Director, NDEA Institute in English
Southern University
"The Use of Contrastive Analysis in Teaching English to Chinese Speakers"

Naguib Greis
Director, English as a Second Language Program
Portland State College
"The Implications of Contrastive Studies for the Teaching of English to Arabic Speakers"

Discussants: Allan Hubbell
Chairman, Interdepartment Linguistics Program
New York University

Martin Todaro
Department of Speech
University of Texas

Friday Morning, March 18—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program III DEMONSTRATION CLASS—ADULT LEVEL

Chairman: Mary McDonald
Assistant Director
Bureau of Community Education
New York Ctiy Board of Education

Demonstration Teacher: Diane Farber
Teacher, Operation Second Chance Program
Williamsburg Training Center
Brooklyn, New York

Student Participants from Operation Second Chance Program
Williamsburg Training Center
Brooklyn, New York

Discussant: Dora Pantell
Curriculum Consultant in Adult Education
Bureau of Curriculum Research
New York City Board of Education

Friday Morning, March 18—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program IV IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Chairman: Renée Fulton
Director, In-Service Training
New York City Board of Education

Speakers: Grace Nutley
Department of English
Brooklyn College of the City
University of New York
"Three Approaches to In-Service Training"

Iona L. Anderson
Community Relations Coordinator
New York City Board of Education
"Serious Approaches and Considerations in Teaching English as a Second Language"

Pat Kukulski
Coordinator, Teacher Aide Training
Arizona State University
"Teacher Aide Training for Indians in the Southwest"

Discussant: R. Ethelyn Miller
Chief, In-Service Section
U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs

Friday Afternoon, March 18—1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Program V DEMONSTRATION CLASS—ELEMENTARY LEVEL

Chairman: Elsie Wolk
Principal in Charge, Education of the Student for Whom English Is a Second Language
Office of Elementary Education
New York City Board of Education

Demonstration Teachers:
Daisy Segal
Public School 38, Brooklyn
New York City Public Schools

Rosa Inclan
Ford Foundation Project in Bilingual Education
Dade County Public Schools, Florida

Student Participants from Public School 38, Brooklyn
New York City Public Schools

Discussants:
Mary Rose Delcuve
School of Education
Long Island University

Truda T. Weil
Assistant Superintendent
Office of Elementary Schools
New York City Board of Education

Friday Afternoon, March 18—1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Program VI DEMONSTRATION CLASS—SECONDARY LEVEL

Chairman:
Max G. Rubinstein
District Superintendent
District 29, Queens
New York City Public Schools

Demonstration Teacher:
Renée Raskin
Coordinator, Non-English Speaking Programs
Stranaham Junior High School, Brooklyn
New York City Public Schools

Student Participants from Stranaham Junior High School, Brooklyn
New York City Public Schools

Discussant:
Virginia Castadasi
Coordinator, Program for Non-English Speaking Pupils
Junior High School
New York City Board of Education

Friday Afternoon, March 18—1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Program VII DEVELOPING TESOL MATERIALS

Chairman:
Ralph F. Robinett
Assistant Director
Ford Foundation Project in Bilingual Education
Dade County Public Schools, Florida

Speakers:
Andrew MacLeish
Department of English
Northern Illinois University
"Composing Pattern Practice Drills"

Christina Bratt Paulston
Department of Languages and Literature
Teachers College, Columbia University
"The Use of Model Passages in a Program of Guided Composition"

Ralph Brande
Principal, Public School 257, Brooklyn
New York City Public Schools
"Talking Books and Other Multi-Media Materials"

Discussants:
Nathan Drut
Non-English Coordinator, Public School 57, Bronx
New York City Public Schools

Helen Klug
Supervisor of Audio-Visual Instruction
New York City Board of Education

Friday Afternoon, March 18—1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Program VIII THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH OVERSEAS

Chairman:
Melvin J. Fox
Associate Director
International Training and Research
Ford Foundation

Speakers: Guy Capelle
English Language Institute
University of Michigan
"The Teaching of English in France"

Daniel Glicksberg
Department of English
San Francisco State College
"English Teaching in Japan"

Anwar S. Dil
Chief, English Extension Center
Lahore, Pakistan
"The Teaching of English in Pakistan"

Discussant: Abraham Holtz
Principal, Public School 24, Queens
New York City Public Schools

Friday Afternoon, March 18—1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Program IX TESTING AND TEST CONSTRUCTION

Chairman: David P. Harris
American Language Institute
Georgetown University

Speakers: Elizabeth Ott
Assistant Director, Bi-Cultural Section
Research and Development Center
University of Texas
"New Measures for O-L-D (Oral Language Development): Primary Level"

Samuel D. McClelland
Acting Director, Bureau of Educational Research
New York City Board of Education
"Teacher Assessment in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages"

Leslie A. Palmer
Director, Testing of English as a Foreign Language
Educational Testing Service
"An Outline for Making Tests"

Discussant: Martin Silverman
Principal, Public School 33
New York City Public Schools

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group I THE TEACHING OF THE NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILD AND ITS CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS: THE STUDENTS TALK BACK

Chairman: Alfredo Mathew, Jr.
Special Assistant to the Director
Human Relations Unit
New York City Board of Education

Student Participants from Brandeis High School, Manhattan
New York City Public Schools:

Carmen Colón
Guy Denis
Marie-Lauie Elizée
Teófilo Fong
Miguelina Marzán

Panelists: Carmen Dinos
Supervisor, Education Section, New York
Migration Division, Department of Labor
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Frank Friuli
Non-English Coordinator
Brandeis High School, Manhattan
New York City Public Schools

Rose Scarangella
Acting Superintendent
Non-English Program in the Elementary School
New York City Board of Education

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group II ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS WITH TESOL IN THE SCHOOLS

Chairman: Jack Bartlett
Assistant Principal
Main Junior High School
Fairbanks, Alaska

Panelists: Raymond F. Costello
Divisional Director of English as a Second Language
Ministry of Education
Government of Quebec

Carl Erdberg
Principal, Public School 145, Manhattan
New York City Public Schools

May H. Riggs
Elementary Principal
Chinle School District No. 24
Chinle, Arizona

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group III TESOL IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Chairman: Rita Napier
Hoonah Public Schools
Hoonah, Alaska

Panelists: Genevieve Hurst
Primary Supervisor
Kayenta Public Schools
Kayenta, Arizona

Sylvia Orenstein
Non-English Coordinator
New York City Board of Education

L. Madison Coombs
Acting Director of Education
U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs
Washington, D. C.

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group IV TESOL IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Chairman: Dorothy Bonawit
Staff Assistant Superintendent
Consultant in Instruction and Curriculum for the High Schools
New York City Board of Education

Panelists: Jeanette Coin
Chairman, Department of Foreign Languages
Brandeis High School, Manhattan
New York City Public Schools

Tom R. Hopkins
Education Specialist (Secondary)
U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs
Brigham City, Utah

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group V PROBLEMS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Chairman: Helene Lloyd
Assistant Superintendent, Subject Directors
New York City Board of Education

Panelists: Joyce Merrill Valdes
Department of English
University of Houston

Clelia Belfrom
Director, Curriculum Development—English as a Second Language, Curriculum Center
New York City Board of Education

Edith C. Kirk
Supervisor, Special Foreign Children's Classes
Department of Special Education
Detroit Public Schools

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group VI PROBLEMS IN TESOL IN ADULT PROGRAMS

Chairman: Mary C. McDonald
Assistant Director, Fundamental Adult Education
Bureau of Community Education
New York City Board of Education

Panelists: Vivienne Anderson
Chief, Bureau of Continuing Education
Curriculum Development
University of the State of New York

Maybelle D. Cox
American Language Institute
Georgetown University

Patricia Cabrera
Center for International Education
School of Education
University of Southern California

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group VII PROBLEMS IN TEACHING ENGLISH OVERSEAS

Chairman: O. Dean Gregory
Head, English Language Institute
American University in Cairo

Panelists: Helen E. Goodrich
Deputy Chief, English Teaching Division
U. S. Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Joseph Agneta
American Language Institute
New York University

John P. Devine
Chief, Overseas Section
Air Force Language School
Lackland Air Force Base

Friday Afternoon, March 18—3:15 p.m. to 4:15 p.m.

Discussion Group VIII ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN DEALING WITH FOREIGN STUDENTS

Chairman: Milton G. Saltzer
Associate Director, American Language Institute
New York University

Panelists: Andrew H. Yarrow
Director of International Students
Louisiana State University

Robert Jacobs
Dean, International Services Division
Southern Illinois University

Robert B. Kaplan
Coordinator, English Communication Program for Foreign Students
University of Southern California

Friday Afternoon, March 18—4:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

BUSINESS MEETING

Presiding: James R. Squire
Executive Secretary, National Council of Teachers of English
and Chairman, TESOL Steering Committee

Saturday Morning, March 19—9:00 a.m. to 10:15 a.m.

GENERAL SESSION

Address: Charles C. Fries
Professor Emeritus of English
University of Michigan
"To Read English as a Second Language"

Address: Clarence Senior
Member, Board of Education, New York City and Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York
" 'Their' Culture—and Ours"

Saturday Morning, March 19—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program X NEW APPROACHES TO THE TEACHING OF SPEECH
Chairman: Sheila M. Goff
Department of Speech
Ohio State University

Speakers: Ralph J. Schwartz
Department of Speech
State College of Iowa
"Pattern Practice: Some Considerations"

J. C. Catford
Director, English Language Institute
University of Michigan
"Air-Flow in Speech and the Training of Pronunciation"

Leo Engler
Department of Speech
Kansas State University
"Basic Tenets for an Audio-Lingual Approach to the Teaching of Spoken English"

W. Nelson Francis
Department of English
Brown University
"The Brown University Standard Corpus of English: Some Implications for TESOL"

Saturday Morning, March 19—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program XI TEACHING THE SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILD
Chairman: Pauline Rojas
Director, Ford Foundation Project in Bilingual Education
Dade County Public Schools, Florida

Speakers: Paul W. Bell
Coordinator, Special English
Dade County Public Schools, Florida
"The Education of the Spanish-Speaking Child in Florida"

Mary Finocchiaro
Director, Foreign Language Institute and Puerto Rican Program
Hunter College of the City
University of New York
"Teaching the Spanish-Speaking Child in New York City"

Le Roy Condie
Division of Indian Education
State Department of Education, New Mexico
"A Decade of Experimentation in Teaching English to Spanish-Speaking Children in the Southwest"

Discussant: Bernard Friedman
Assistant Superintendent, District 7
New York City Public Schools

Saturday Morning, March 19—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program XII TRAINING FOR TEACHERS OVERSEAS
Chairman: Leroy Benoit
Research and Standards Division
Defense Language Institute
Department of the Army

Speakers: Edward M. Anthony
Chairman, Department of General Linguistics
University of Pittsburgh
"Approaches to Teacher Preparation"

Russell M. Campbell
Department of English
University of California, Los Angeles
"Training Versus Education"

Andre S. Rheault
English Language Services
Washington, D. C.
"Some Problems in Teacher Preparation"

Discussant: Richard A. Long
Department of English
Morgan State College

Saturday Morning, March 19—10:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon

Program XIII THE TEACHING OF READING

Chairman: Alfred Hayes
Center for Applied Linguistics

Speakers: Mildred M. Friedman
Director, English Department
Faculty of General Studies
University of Puerto Rico
"Problems in Teaching Reading to Non-Speakers of English"

Amelia Melnik
Department of English
University of Arizona
"The Realm and Role of Reading in Acculturation"

Stella M. Cohn
Director of Special Reading Services
New York City Board of Education
"Skill Development in the Teaching of Reading with Illustrative Original Teacher-Prepared Materials"

Discussant: Lois McIntosh
Department of English
University of California, Los Angeles

Saturday, March 19—12:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

LUNCHEON

Presiding: Sirarpi Ohannessian
Director, English Program
Center for Applied Linguistics

Address: The Honorable Ben Reifel
Member of the House of Representatives of the United States from the First District, South Dakota
"A Material Witness"

Saturday Afternoon, March 19—3:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.

ORGANIZATIONAL GET-TOGETHER

This session is planned to provide participants with an opportunity to meet representatives of the various organizations and associations interested in TESOL.

Saturday Afternoon, March 19—3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Program XIV VISUAL AIDS AND PROGRAMMED LEARNING

Chairman: Edward G. Bernard
Director, Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction
New York City Board of Education

Speakers: Carol J. Kreidler
Center for Applied Linguistics
"Pictures for Practice"

Edgar R. Garrett
Head, Department of Speech
New Mexico State University

"Program Holders: Machine and Human"

Edwin T. Cornelius, Jr.
President, English Language Services, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

"Applications of Programmed Instruction Techniques in Teacher Education Programs"

Discussants: Robert Mangieri
Non-English Coordinator
Public School 20, Manhattan
New York City Public Schools

Bernard Spolsky, Acting Director
English as a Foreign Language
Department of Linguistics
Indiana University

Saturday Afternoon, March 19—3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Program XV LINGUISTICS AND THE NEW GRAMMAR

Chairman: Michael F. Shugrue
Director, English Program
Modern Language Association of America and
Coordinator, Association of Departments of English

Speakers: Richard B. Noss
Scientific Linguist, Department of Far Eastern Languages
Foreign Service Institute
Department of State

"The Linguist's Role in English Teaching: Advice is Not Enough"

Robert J. Di Pietro
Institute of Languages and Linguistics
Georgetown University

"Operational and Taxonomic Models of Language Teaching"

Discussants: Rudolph C. Troike
Department of English
University of Texas

Charles A. Ferguson
Director, Center for Applied Linguistics

Saturday Afternoon, March 19—3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Program XVI NDEA SECOND LANGUAGE INSTITUTES AND USOE PROGRAMS

Chairman: Joseph H. Sheehan, Jr.
Director, Experienced Teacher Fellowship Project; Director, NDEA-ESL Institute;
Administrative Director, Staurday School of American English, American Language
Institute, New York University

Speakers: James M. Spillane
Chief, Modern Foreign Language Institutes Section,
Division of College and University Assistance
U. S. Office of Education

"THE USOE and TESOL"

Carmen Judith Nine
NDEA English as a Foreign Language Institute
University of Puerto Rico

"An Overseas Institute on EFL: An Experience in Cultural Shock"

Walker Gibson
Director, Freshman English
New York University and
Director, 1965 NDEA Institute

"Running an Institute"

Discussant: Andrea McHenry Mildenberger
Foreign Language Consultant
Division of Teacher Education
City University of New York

Saturday Afternoon, March 19—3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Program XVII **THE FOREIGN STUDENT IN THE UNITED STATES**

Chairman: **Joel B. Slocum**
Director, Foreign Student Admissions
Columbia University

Speakers: **Richard C. Sittler**
Director, English Language Institute and Chairman, Teaching of English as a Second Language
University of Hawaii
"Remedial English Training in Short Term Orientation Programs"

Gordon Ericksen
Director, American Language Institute
New York University
"Red Badge of Courage: Professor of English as a Foreign Language"

Martha Korngblum
Supervisor, Special English Programs
The English Language Institute
Queens College of the City University of New York
"English for Foreign Ford Scholars in the U. S.: Problems and Proposals"

Discussant: **Leon Marelli**
Intensive Program Coordinator
American Language Institute
New York University